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Master

Richard Quyny

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Master
Richard Quyny

Bailiff of

Stratford-upon-Avon

and Friend of

William Shakespeare

by

Edgar I. Fripp

Editor of 'Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1553-1620'

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To

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Lovers

of

The Sweet Stratford

Shakespeare

Loved

RICHARD QUYNY'S SEAL OF 30 JULY 1591

The name Quyny is variously spelt in the records (Quyny, Quyney, Quyne, Quiney, Quinee, Quinie, Queeny, Queeney, Queney, Queny, Quene, Quiny, Quinny). The form adopted in this book is that used by the old Town Clerk, Richard Symons.

PREFACE

THE biography of Shakespeare has suffered from idle rumour and imperfect research. The idle rumour we owe mainly to Restorationist gossips and anecdotists who had little understanding of the Poet or his age. The imperfect research is chiefly that of the late Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, which, however praiseworthy as pioneer work, was very limited and often misleading in its conclusions. His *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, because of his prestige as an antiquarian and the undoubted value of the documents published in that book, must be held responsible for much of the chaos in modern opinion. He wrote, for example, of the Poet: 'Removed prematurely 'from school, residing with illiterate relatives in 'a bookless neighbourhood, thrown into the midst 'of occupations adverse to scholastic progress, it 'is difficult to believe that when he first left 'Stratford he was not all but destitute of polished 'accomplishments.'[1] Hence the theory of 'the Stratford Boor', and the idea that anybody but he must have written the poems and plays that bear the name of Shakespeare. Yet not one of

[1] *Outlines*, i. 95 (1907).

these statements will stand examination. There is no evidence that Shakespeare was removed prematurely from school, or that his relatives were illiterate, or that he resided in a bookless neighbourhood, or that he was thrown into the midst of occupations adverse to scholastic progress. On the contrary, the evidence, which is not small and is continually growing, points in the opposite direction—that Shakespeare had an excellent schooling under Oxford graduates, that his father and mother were people likely to be interested in his education, that his father was a man of remarkable abilities and independence of judgement (for three successive years Acting-Chamberlain of the Borough, in charge of the Corporation estate and its finances) and well able to use his pen, that Stratford and the neighbourhood contained not a few residents with a claim to learning and eager to send their sons to the University, and that Shakespeare on leaving school entered an attorney's office (probably that of Henry Rogers, Town Clerk and Steward from 1571 to 1586), and served in this invaluable capacity, with growing knowledge of men and motive and impartiality of judgement, for some nine years before (on his master's retirement) he

joined the players. Only in the absence of a thorough, scientific exploration of the wide and fruitful field of investigation open to us, is such a paragraph as the above conceivable, and its accompanying fables of the Baconian, Oxfordian, and Derbian authorship possible.

Equally baseless is 'the second-best bed' and 'dark lady' scandal. Evidence is wholly wanting that Shakespeare 'left' Stratford and his wife and children. The facts confirm the natural supposition of his moral sanity. From first to last he was, whatever else, a Stratford man; and he probably returned to his native town and home every summer or autumn, for months at a time, and there prepared for the coming Christmas season, writing happily and swiftly in the midst of his family and friends and a passionately loved environment.

As a contribution to the new biography is offered this story, such as it is, of Richard Quyny, Shakespeare's friend, son of his father's colleague, father of his daughter's husband. It emerges in these pages out of the dust, put together like a Chinese puzzle from a multitude of disconnected and at times almost indecipherable scraps, and with many regrettable *lacunae*.

In the gathering and reading of the material I have had the assistance of my old friend and colleague in the *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon 1553–1620*, Mr. Richard Savage. His large collection of transcripts and intimate acquaintance with local names and phraseology have been always and most generously at my disposal. The Quyny correspondence here quoted will shortly appear in full under our joint editorship as a companion volume to this one.

The last of many acts of kindness to me by the late Dr. Henry Bradley was to read and criticize this essay. I am gratefully conscious of his encouragement, and proud to know that most of his suggestions, especially in the restoration of Abraham Sturley's Latin, are embodied in the text.

My thanks are due to the Trustees of the Birthplace and the Corporation of Stratford for access to their archives, and to Mr. F. C. Wellstood, M.A., F.S.A., F.R. Hist. S., the Librarian and Secretary of the Birthplace Trust, for his courteous and valuable help.

EDGAR I. FRIPP,
STOW-ON-THE-WOLD.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
1.	The Quynys and the Shakespeares	13
2.	Adrian Quyny and John Shakespeare	15
3.	Adrian Quyny and John Fisher of Warwick	22
4.	Richard Hill and Others of the Stratford Chamber	25
5.	Richard Quyny	30
6.	Growth of the Quyny Influence in the Chamber	32
7.	Abraham Sturley	37
8.	William Parsons	39
9.	William Shakespeare an Attorney's Clerk	41
10.	The Quyny Household	45
11.	Shakespeare Joins the Players	47
12.	Shakespeare Godchildren in Richard Quyny's Family	53
13.	Shakespeare's Friend, Richard Tyler	54
14.	Abraham Sturley's Advent to the Chamber, 1591	57
15.	*Love's Labour's Lost*, 1591–2	59
16.	Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1590–3	64
17.	Shakespeare's Early Sympathies with Anglo-Catholicism	75
18.	John Shakespeare's Presentation for Recusancy, 1592	78
19.	Richard Quyny and Master Edward Greville of Milcote	83
20.	Richard Quyny as Bailiff, 1592–3	85
21.	The Death of Richard Hill	87
22.	The Wet Summer and the Great Fire of 1594	89
23.	Master Shakespeare buys a Book in Stratford, *c.* 25 August 1595	92
24.	Shakespeare and his Children, 1590–5	95
25.	Another Great Fire, 1595	101

PAGE

26. Thomas Rogers and His New House . . . 103
27. The Death of Hamlet Shakespeare 108
28. Abraham Sturley as Bailiff 109
29. Shakespeare Buys 'New Place' 111
30. George Badger 113
31. A Petition to the Exchequer 116
32. Richard Quyny's Sojourn in London, 1597–8 . . 121
33. Discontent with Maltsters and Engrossers of Corn . 125
34. Relief Sought from Subsidy 130
35. Quyny's Second Sojourn in London, 1598–9 . . 133
36. Quyny Writes to Shakespeare in London . . 137
37. Letters to Quyny in London, November 1598 . 146
38. Thomas Greene 154
39. Quyny and Shakespeare in London at Christmas, 1598–9 157
40. Survey of the Chamber Estate, April 1599 . . 161
41. Quyny's Further Labours in 1599 163
42. Quyny's Third Sojourn in London, 1600 . . 167
43. Battle Royal with the Lord of the Manor . . 170
44. The Rising of the Earl of Essex, 8 February 1601 . 173
45. Quyny's Labours and Difficulties, April to September 1601 176
46. Quyny's Second Bailiwick, 1601–2 184
47. The Bailiff's Death 192
48. Richard Quyny and *Horatio* 196
49. Conclusion 199

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The Quyny Arms and Crest . . . . *Cover*
2. Richard Quyny's Seal, July 1591 . . *facing Preface*
3. The House of Thomas Rogers, 1596 . „ *page* 105
4. Letter of Richard Quyny to Shakespeare, 1598 . . . . . „ „ 138
5. The House of William Parsons, *c.* 1599 . „ „ 163

§ 1. *The Quynys and the Shakespeares*

AMONG Shakespeare's neighbours in Stratford-upon-Avon probably none stood higher in the estimate of fellow townsmen or closer to himself in friendship than Richard Quyny. For four generations their families were associated in growing intimacy. Richard Quyny the elder was the acquaintance at least of Shakespeare's grandfather, Richard Shakespeare of Snitterfield; Adrian Quyny, son of this Richard, was the colleague and friend of Shakespeare's father, John Shakespeare; Richard Quyny the younger, son of Adrian, the subject of this essay, was the poet's contemporary and intimate, the writer of the one letter that remains of his correspondence, a pressing communication couched in familiar terms; and Richard Quyny's son, Thomas Quyny, married Shakespeare's younger daughter, Judith. To cement the union of the families, Thomas Quyny and Judith Shakespeare named their first child, Shakespeare Quyny.

Now, Richard Quyny the elder had an Adrian for a father as well as a son. Adrian the elder and his wife, Katharine, were admitted members of the Stratford Gild of the Holy Cross in 1497,[1]

[1] *Gild of the Holy Cross*, J. Harvey Bloom, p. 193.

about the time of the completion of the building of the Gild Chapel through the munificence of Sir Hugh Clopton.[1] He was in turn Proctor (1501), Alderman and Master (1515) of the Gild.[2] He served also as a Bridge Warden (1525), with oversight of Sir Hugh Clopton's invaluable and beautiful structure over the Avon.[3] He died about the autumn of 1533, and his widow married Master John Combe of Astley in the following spring.[4] Richard Quyny, his son, also served as Proctor (1526), Alderman and Master (1542) of the Gild,[5] and as Bridge Warden (1527).[6] He lived in Bridge Street, next door to the *Bear* Inn (which faced the bridge, the last house on the south side), in a tenement which he purchased from one Robert Hooper of Walton.[7] He was supervisor in October 1543 of the will of a well-to-do Stratford clothier, his father's colleague in the bridge wardenship in 1525, Thomas Atwood *alias* Taylor, who in this will[8] made a bequest of

[1] See Clopton's Will, 14 Sept. 1496, P. C. C. 2 Horne. The Chapel was then being rebuilt.

[2] *Gild of the Holy Cross*, pp. 202, 215.

[3] The Bridge Wardens' Accounts (in MS.), fol. 3.

[4] His name appears for the last time on his election as an Alderman of the Gild 13 July 1533. The marriage licence of his widow and John Combe was issued 30 April 1534 (Jerome de Ghinuciis Register, xxviii, fol. 666 Worcester).

[5] *Gild of the Holy Cross*, p. 167. [6] Accounts, fol. 5.

[7] Birthplace Deeds, no. 10.

[8] P. C. C. 7 Pynnyng.

'four oxen now in his keeping' to Shakespeare's grandfather, Richard Shakespeare of Snitterfield.

§ 2. *Adrian Quyny and John Shakespeare*

This Richard Quyny's son, Adrian Quyny the younger (father of the Richard of this sketch), and John Shakespeare, the Poet's father, appear together in the Stratford records in 1552. In April of that year they were living near each other in Henley Street, Quyny at the present number one (Lambert's), Shakespeare in the eastern (right-hand) portion of the Birthplace, and were fined, with a third neighbour, for keeping an unauthorized refuse-heap.[1] A public *sterquinarium* had been provided at the country-end of the street,[2] but these energetic young tradesmen wanted it nearer to their places of business. John Shakespeare was a glover[3] and whittawer,[4] Adrian Quyny was a mercer, and both were yeomen.[5] The officers of the Court

[1] Court Rolls, portf. 207, no. 82, P.R.O.

[2] Misc. Doc. iii. 11. See *Minutes and Accounts of Stratford-upon-Avon Corporation* (Dugdale Society), I, pp. xxii, xxxiv, 42, 124 ('in the old place accustomed').

[3] Court of Record, 17 June 1556. King's Bench, Trinity, 1587, Controlment Roll 223, m. 44.

[4] He is 'whittawer' in Higford's suit in the Common Pleas, Easter 1573. His 'woolshop' is a myth (*Outlines*, i. 377, 380, &c.).

[5] *Agricola* is the term applied to John Shakespeare in the deed of obligation respecting his father's estate 10 Feb. 1561. He is 'yeoman' in Wedgewood's deed of sale of 20 Sept. 1575, and

Leet were on the watch for breaches of the by-laws, and some leading townsmen, including the Town Clerk himself, Richard Symons, were fined for the same offence.

Adrian Quyny and John Shakespeare were neighbours in the same street (Henley Street) and then in streets almost adjoining (Henley Street and High Street) for half a century. They had much in common, and they climbed together, Quyny leading, the ladder of municipal promotion, from Taster to Constable, and thence to Principal Burgess, Chamberlain, Alderman, Bailiff and Capital or Head Alderman. Both prospered in business and by marriage. John Shakespeare purchased two houses before he married Master Robert Arden's youngest and well-endowed daughter, Mary.[1] Adrian Quyny inherited property, part of which he had to defend at law about the year 1554 against John Combe, who had married his grandfather's widow.[2] In 1557 he took for his second wife Elizabeth, widow of Laurence Baynton, a well-to-do mercer and grocer in the High Street, whose business he

in the fine in the Coram Rege Roll, Trinity 1580. For Adrian Quyny see pp. 45, 103 f.

[1] Misc. Doc. vii. 40. *Minutes and Accounts*, I, pp. xxxv ff., 57.

[2] John Combe of Astley seems to have removed to Stratford on his marriage with Widow Quyny, and was thus the 'John Combe gentleman of Stratford' in Adrian Quyny's petition to Gardiner, Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 1373, P.R.O.

acquired and added to his own.[1] Already he had three children by a first wife [2]—Elizabeth, Anne, and Richard—and now by his second marriage he had the guardianship of four step-children, somewhat older than his own—Elizabeth, Charles, Joyce, and William Baynton. He had, therefore, a considerable household to provide for when he removed from Henley Street into the High Street.

A link between Adrian Quyny and John Shakespeare was their religion. The Borough Council, of which Quyny was already a leading member,[3] was strongly Protestant on the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Its initial act was to get rid of the Romanist vicar, Roger Dyos, and the Romanist steward, Roger Edgeworth ; [4] and at the first election after Elizabeth's accession it chose Adrian

[1] Laurence Baynton was a witness to the will of Doctor Bentley at New Place on 26 Jan. 1549. He was one of the first Capital Burgesses under the Charter of 1553. Adrian Quyny was an executor to his will, with the widow, early in 1557. She was sought in marriage by George Turner, to whom her husband had lent £10, and she promised him marriage, but changing her mind took her fellow executor for her second husband. See Proceedings of Court of Record.

[2] So we gather from the fact that they were baptized (if baptized in Stratford) before the Register began on 25 March 1558.

[3] Quyny was one of the fourteen appointed Aldermen in the charter of 1553, the last on the list.

[4] *Minutes and Accounts*, I, pp. xxx, xlv–xlvii, 101 f.

Quyny for Bailiff.[1] Eight days after Quyny's swearing-in, which took place on 6 October 1559, a letter was directed to the Council by two local Catholic magistrates, Sir Robert Throgmorton of Coughton and Sir Edward Greville of Milcote, complaining of its treatment of the vicar. It had paid him no salary since the last quarter-day under Mary, and only when assured of his 'departure' would it pay him anything. It gave him then £16 of the £30 due, and withheld the balance for seventeen years.[2]

John Shakespeare, on the other hand, was brought into close contact, as Borough Chamberlain for four successive years (1561–1565), with the new Protestant vicar, John Bretchgirdle. He repaired extensively the vicar's residence, and Protestantized the Gild Chapel, 'defacing the images', taking down the rood-loft, providing seats for the minister and clerk, and probably a communion 'board'.[3] In the time of the plague in Stratford, in 1564, he rendered useful service to the vicar in a number of ways.[4] Children

[1] 'Their well-beloved Adrian Quyny', *Minutes and Accounts*, I, p. 101.

[2] Birthplace Deeds, no. 16. Chamberlains' Accompts 23 Jan. 1577 and 29 Jan. 1578.

[3] *Ib.*, pp. li, 128, 138 f. There is no evidence that John Shakespeare outwardly professed Protestantism but secretly was attached to the Catholic Faith (*Outlines*, i. 37 f.).

[4] *Minutes and Accounts*, I, p. liii f.

were born to him—two daughters who died and a boy who lived, William, baptized by John Bretchgirdle on 26 April 1564.[1] Adrian Quyny, after his bailiwick in 1559–1560, served as Head Alderman under Bailiff Humfrey Plymley (with whom he shared a seat on the magistrates' bench) in 1562–1563;[2] he witnessed the will of Vicar Bretchgirdle (who probably died of the effects of the plague) in June 1565;[3] and he lost his father, Richard Quyny the elder, shortly before 28 June 1567 when he sold his house in Bridge Street to Richard Godwin, smith, for forty marks.[4]

The years that followed, of William Shakespeare's childhood and Richard Quyny's boyhood, were years of considerable anxiety in the Midlands owing to the presence as a prisoner of Mary Queen of Scots. There was fear of a Catholic rising, justified by the fierce outbreak in the north in the late autumn of 1569. John Shakespeare was Bailiff of Stratford from October 1568 to October 1569, and he had hardly laid down his office when that rebellion grew to a head. The Queen

[1] *Ib.*, pp. xxxvii, l, lii. There was a young curate at this time, Thomas Spicer of Carnarvon, a deacon, who entered upon his duties on Sunday, 19 March 1564. He is not likely to have officiated at the baptism of the Chamberlain's child. Misc. Doc. xii. 23.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 123.

[3] *Notes and Queries*, 9 April 1921.

[4] P. 14. Birthplace Deeds, no. 10.

of Scots was removed from Tutbury to Ashby-de-la-Zouch and thence to Coventry for security.[1] The new vicar of Stratford, William Butcher, proved a Romanist and was deprived,[2] while his assistant, James Hilman, ran away, leaving wife and child, and was written down as *fugitivus*.[3] In September 1571, Adrian Quyny was elected a second time Bailiff, and his election was duly certified to the Earl of Warwick for his confirmation.[4] John Shakespeare was chosen his colleague as High Alderman and deputy magistrate. At their very first 'hall', or meeting of the Council, a resolution was passed that the Romanist vestments preserved at the Gild Chapel should be sold.[5] Interesting to note is a journey by the two friends to London on corporation business early in 1572. They received their instructions, with liberty to act according to their discretions, on 18 January: 'At this hall 'it is agreed by the assent and consent of the 'Aldermen and Burgesses aforesaid that Master

[1] *Leicester Records*, iii. 128, 131 f.

[2] Before 26 November when Henry Haycroft was presented to the vicarage.

[3] See John Sadler's suit against him in Court of Record, April 1570.

[4] Council Book A, p. 146, and Saunders' Collection, Volume relating to the Quyny family, fol. 97.

[5] Council Book A, p. 148.

'Adrian Quyny now Bailiff, and Master John 'Shakespeare, shall at Hilary Term next ensuing 'deal in the affairs concerning the common- 'wealth of the Borough aforesaid according to 'their discretions.'[1] Hilary Term began on 23 January and ended on 12 February. The trusted delegates were home again by 7 February, when they attended a large meeting of the Council.[2] Twenty shillings were paid to the Bailiff on his going up, and seven pounds more after his arrival in London.[3] Meetings were held on 2, 9, and 18 April.[4] On 28 May Quyny received instructions to negotiate with the Lord of the Manor: 'It is agreed at this 'hall that Master Adrian Quyny now Bailiff 'shall deal in all causes now in variance between 'the Right Honourable Lord Ambrose, Earl of 'Warwick, and the Borough according to his 'discretion. And if the said Baily do or can 'obtain those things which the Burgesses do now 'sue for, that the Baily yearly shall not have any 'perquisites of Courts or other profits whatsoever 'but as [he has] yearly had, but only by the 'assent, consent and agreement of the more part

[1] *Ib.*, p. 150.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 151 (there were only three absentees).
[3] Chamberlains' Accompt, 12 Jan. 1572.
[4] Council Book A, p. 151 f.

'of the said Baily and Burgesses. And that the 'said Master Adrian Quyny now Bailiff shall have 'repaid unto him before the Feast of St. Michael 'all such sum or sums of money as he shall dis- 'burse concerning their suits unto the above 'named Earl of Warwick.'[1] Quyny's mission, therefore, was disinterested and probably of his own initiative, involving a personal expenditure for which he was to be refunded before Michaelmas. He laid out, as a matter of fact, £4 10*s.* 7*d.*, and was repaid on 11 June 1573.[2]

§ 3. *Adrian Quyny and John Fisher of Warwick*

In 1574 Quyny had attained the envied title of 'gentleman';[3] in the autumn of which year he was appointed again Head Alderman, his old colleague, Humfrey Plymley, being once more Bailiff. In December he accompanied the Bailiff and the Town Clerk (Henry Rogers of Sherborne) to Warwick to learn from the Steward there the terms of the Oken Trust.[4] Thomas Oken, a wealthy Warwick worthy, had died on 30 July 1573, leaving money for the encouragement of young traders in Warwick, Stratford, and Banbury. In accordance

[1] Council Book A, p. 153. [2] *Ib.*, p. 156.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 161: 'Adrian Quyny gent. was elected Chief Alderman' (1 Sept.).

[4] *Black Book of Warwick*, p. 146 (read 'Rogers' for 'Byers').

with the testator's wishes articles were drawn up by the Steward in the form of an indenture. The Steward was the conscientious, dignified, conservative, arbitrary, peppery little John Fisher, younger brother of the rich Thomas Fisher of the Priory at Warwick, and of the less rich but more amiable Richard Fisher, Bailiff this year of the borough. John Fisher thus describes a second visit by the Stratford authorities on Tuesday, 4 January 1575:

'At which day came from Stratford the said '[Humfrey] Plymley then Bailiff, Audrian Quyny 'then Alderman, Lewis ap Williams, [Richard] 'Hill and [William] Tyler, all of the company 'of Bailiff,[1] and with them came Barber of the '*Bear* and Nicholas Bannister, of the second 'company;[2] and Henry Rogers their Town 'Clerk and the Serjeant;[3] who all were well 'received by the Bailiff of Warwick and feasted, 'and had to bear them company the most part 'of the Principal Burgesses and some other of 'their Assistants of Warwick.[4] And after dinner 'the books[5] being looked upon and examined,

[1] i.e. Aldermen who had filled the office of Bailiff.

[2] Principal Burgesses.

[3] The senior Serjeant at the Mace was John Moore.

[4] In Warwick the Principal Burgesses corresponded to the Aldermen in Stratford, and the 'Assistants' to the Principal Burgesses in Stratford though they had less power.

[5] Legal documents.

'Audrian Quyny seemed somewhat, in the name 'of the rest of his company, to stick at the seal- 'ing of the bond, thinking it hard that they 'should both be bound to such conditions and 'also a bond, without which they meant, as he 'said, to perform as much as in them lay to do 'for the performance of all things. To which 'it was answered that if they misliked anything 'now it was very late, having before that time 'had the minute in their hands and considera- 'tion three or four days and returned the same 'with desire to have it written up;[1] which now 'being so done cannot be altered. And more it 'was told them plainly that unless they did yield 'both to the covenants and bond they should 'receive no money, for so was the will of the 'giver, who putting his trust in his neighbours, '[they] desired to perform the trust as near as 'they might, and yet with as great favour showed 'to them of Stratford as might be; for though 'it be true that they be men known of good 'credit, honest behaviour, upright dealing, and 'such as upon their credits might be trusted in 'as great a matter as this, yet forasmuch as they 'be but men and therefore variable, and mortal 'and therefore must die, and the thing yet 'continuing, it is not to be taken amiss that

[1] The Stratford Council had met on 29 Dec. 1574.

'some matter be devised in writing to tie their 'posterity and successors for the performance of 'the covenants, being both reasonable and easy 'to be performed by careful and good men, 'whose travails in that case being also but easy 'shall greatly benefit their poor neighbours, 'whereunto we are all bound. So in the end 'they agreed, and the books were sealed and 'delivered, and the money paid, and they of 'Stratford sent merry homewards.'[1]

§ 4. *Richard Hill and Others of the Stratford Chamber*

Quyny, it will be observed, though not Bailiff, takes the lead and is spokesman of his party. John Fisher pays a tribute to their character. Richard Hill stood almost as high in Stratford before his death as Thomas Oken in Warwick. He was a woollen draper in Wood Street, successor to Richard Lord, whose widow made him supervisor of her will as her 'trusty friend' on 5 November 1556.[2] Richard Shakespeare's friend, Thomas Atwood alias Taylor, had left Richard Hill 20*s.* in his will of 21 October 1543.[3] Hill was Taster

[1] *Black Book*, J. Kemp, p. 146 f.
[2] Worcester Wills, no. 3, 1556 Bdl.
[3] P. 14 f.

in 1556,[1] a Principal Burgess in 1557,[2] Chamberlain in 1558–1559,[3] and arbitrator with John Shakespeare in a case to be settled out of court on 15 November 1559.[4] He was a widower with two daughters when he married a widow, Katharine Taylor, with one daughter, on 1 February 1561.[5] As an Alderman he contributed to the afflicted in the plague of 1564, and was elected Bailiff in that perilous time (when John Shakespeare was Chamberlain) on the refusal of John Wheeler to take office, 29 September.[6] During his bailiwick, John Brownsword, the Latinist poet, was engaged as schoolmaster in Stratford, 1 April 1565;[7] William Bott was expelled from the Council for 'opprobrious' language towards him and others, on 9 May;[8] and John Shakespeare was elected an Alderman in Bott's place, 4 July 1565.[9] He served as Head Alderman when Rafe Cawdrey of the *Angel* was for a second time Bailiff, in 1567–1568.[10] His eldest daughter was dead when he buried her husband, Richard Samuel (who was probably in

[1] Proceedings of Court of Record.
[2] *Minutes and Accounts*, I, p. 62. [3] *Ib.*, p. 90.
[4] Court of Record.
[5] *The Registers of Stratford-on-Avon, Transcribed by Richard Savage.* Marriages, p. 2. [6] *Minutes and Accounts*, I. 130–4.
[7] *Ib.*, p. 142. [8] *Ib.*, p. 144 f. [9] *Ib.*, p. 145 f.
[10] Council Book A, p. 15.

his business and well-to-do, with relatives in Worcester) and made the inventory of his goods in the summer of 1568.[1] He was most diligent in attendance at the Council meetings, and evidently a close colleague of Adrian Quyny and John Shakespeare in the exciting years 1568–1572. He probably stood godfather to John Shakespeare's son, Richard, on his baptism on 11 March 1574,[2] when William Shakespeare was approaching his tenth birthday. On 11 December 1575 Alderman Hill's younger daughter, Anne, was married[3] to a Cambridge scholar, a man of note in after-years in Stratford, Master Abraham Sturley.[4]

The other aldermen on the deputation were much respected men. Lewis ap Williams was a Welshman, an ironmonger in the High Street. He had served as Chamberlain with Richard Hill in 1558–1559, and had twice been Bailiff, in 1561–1562 and 1573–1574.[5] William Tyler interests us as the father of Richard Tyler, the friend of William Shakespeare. He was fifty years old in 1575,[6]

[1] The Will (10 July) and Inventory (12 September) are at Worcester. Burial 17 July at Stratford, *Register*, p. 19.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 20. [3] *Register*, p. 7. [4] Pp. 37 ff.

[5] *Minutes and Accounts*, I. 90; *Calendar*, lease to George Whateley 20 Feb. 1562; and Council Book A, p. 157 f.

[6] Deposition in Burman *v.* Underhill, 8 Oct. 1585, Court of Requests, 72/76.

when his boy, two and a half years younger than Shakespeare, was nine years of age.[1] To Richard Tyler, who was probably his schoolfellow, Shakespeare, in the first draft of his will, left money for a memorial ring.[2] Alderman William Tyler was a butcher living in Sheep Street,[3] and an old colleague of John Shakespeare as Constable, Affeeror, and Chamberlain.[4]

The two Principal Burgesses who represented their company at Warwick deserve notice. 'Barber of the *Bear*' was Thomas Barber, otherwise Dyer, successor to Alderman Francis Harbage, a skinner in Rother Street. He married Harbage's widow [5] and inherited his business, including the tenancy of the *Bear Inn* in Bridge Street (which was the property of John Sadler). He was shortly to become an Alderman, and in due course, Bailiff. Nicholas Bannister or Barnhurst, a woollen draper in Sheep Street and a yeoman, with relatives of the same name and alias at Henley-in-Arden,[6] was a connexion of Adrian Quyny. He had married Quyny's step-daughter, Elizabeth Baynton, on 21 June 1562,[7] and was elected a Capital Burgess

[1] Richard Tyler was baptized 28 Sept. 1566, a fortnight before Shakespeare's brother Gilbert (13 Oct.). *Register*, p. 12.

[2] January 1616. [3] *Minutes and Accounts*, I, pp. 98, 110.

[4] *Ib.*, pp. 108, 101, and 123. [5] 22 Nov. 1562 (*Register*, p. 3).

[6] *Records of Henley-in-Arden*, F. C. Wellstood, pp. 55–9, 81, 102, &c. [7] *Register*, p. 3.

on the day that John Shakespeare was promoted to the Aldermanship, 4 July 1565.[1] He had served as Chamberlain for three years with Thomas Barber,[2] the difficult years when John Shakespeare and Adrian Quyny were much to the front, 1569–1572. Like John Shakespeare he held extreme Protestant opinions. In 1592 they were presented together as Recusants.[3]

Barnhurst was raised to Aldermanic rank in 1577;[4] in which year his brother-in-law, George Bardell (or Bardolf), was elected a Principal Burgess.[5] George Bardell had just married Adrian Quyny's step-daughter, Joyce Baynton (3 February 1577).[6] His admission to the Council was a further addition to Adrian Quyny's influence. Barnhurst served as Bailiff in 1579–1580 with John Wheeler,[7] another extreme Protestant,[8] for his Head Alderman and deputy; and just before the termination of his office, on 7 September 1580, Adrian Quyny's son, Richard, was elected a Principal Burgess: for joy whereof Adrian Quyny drew up a deed of gift endowing the Corporation with an annual rent at his death

[1] *Minutes and Accounts*, I, p. 146.
[2] Council Book A, pp. 138, 143, 146, 27–33, 34–7, 38–40.
[3] Pp. 81, 85 f. [4] Council Book A, p. 178.
[5] On 6 November. Council Book A, p. 179.
[6] *Register*, p. 8.
[7] Council Book A, pp. 196 ff. [8] Pp. 81.

of one mark from a house he owned in Church Street.[1] On this day the Bailiff, in the absence of Rogers the Town Clerk, kept the minutes, and the memorandum of his son's election and his own gift are in his handwriting.

§ 5. *Richard Quyny*

Richard Quyny was a considerable scholar, as well as an active man of business. He had received a good education, no doubt at 'The King's Free School of Stratford', under John Brownsword and his successors, John Acton (of whom we know little) and Walter Roche (a graduate of Oxford,[2] who became a parson and a lawyer). He and Hamlet Sadler (nephew of Alderman Roger Sadler), Francis Smith (son of John Shakespeare's friend and neighbour in Henley Street, probably William Shakespeare's godfather, William Smith the haberdasher),[3] Richard Field (son of Henry Field, the tanner in Back Bridge Street),[4] John Lane (son of Nicholas Lane of Bridge Town, yeoman), and

[1] Council Book A, p. 202. 'The one moiety or half of the said annuity shall go to the Chamber, the other to the Almspeople in the Almshouse.'

[2] 'Sup. for B.A. 1 June 1559—at Corpus 16 Feb. $155\frac{4}{5}$, from Lancaster, fellow 26 Nov. 1558' (*Register of the University*, i. 240).

[3] *Minutes and Accounts*, I. lii.

[4] Richard Field became a printer and publisher in London and produced Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* 1593, and *Lucrece* 1594.

Arthur Cawdrey (son of Alderman Rafe Cawdrey of the *Angel*) were probably senior boys when Shakespeare, about the year 1571, entered the school, to be followed in due course by his brother Gilbert and Richard Tyler. It is characteristic of Shakespeare and a sign of his early development that many of his friends (like his wife) were older than himself. Richard Quyny read Latin easily,[1] and took *Tully's Epistles* with him on a journey.[2] He had his study of books, of which he kept the key.[3] He wrote much. Specimens of his handwriting are numerous in the Borough records.[4] He was conversant with lawyers and legal procedure,[5] could advocate the town's cause among Parliamentary men and interview a Privy Councillor.[6] He had friends among the colleges at Oxford,[7] and was thought highly of by justices, such as Sir Fulke Greville the elder,[8] father of the friend of Sir Philip Sidney. He must have known London almost as well as Stratford.[9]

Evidence is abundant of his capacity both in private and public. He married a very able woman, a true helpmate, Elizabeth Phillips (daughter and grand-daughter of respected towns-

[1] Pp. 120 f., 122 f., 133 f., 141 ff., &c. [2] P. 160.
[3] P. 121. [4] Pp. 85, 169, 171, 177, 185, 187.
[5] Pp. 118, 160, 165, 173 f. [6] Pp. 149 f., 157 f., 160.
[7] P. 90 f. [8] Pp. 83 f., 189 f.
[9] Pp. 117 f., 122 f., 137–40.

men) on Sunday the 24th January 1580 in the parish church,[1] when his age was about three and twenty. In the autumn of this year, as I have said, he was elected a Principal Burgess, to the delight of his father.

§ 6. *Growth of the Quyny Influence in the Chamber*

Two years later, on 5 September 1582, his father was nominated yet again for the bailiwick. George Whateley and John Sadler were nominated at the same time. Adrian Quyny evidently did not desire the election. He received eight votes, Sadler eleven, Whateley two. The candidates took no part. John Shakespeare and Nicholas Barnhurst voted for Sadler, Richard Quyny for Whateley. George Bardolf was absent. If Adrian Quyny's friends and connexions had wished to put him into office they could have done so. The post was expensive, we must remember, as well as onerous. At this meeting Barnhurst was chosen High Alderman, Bardolf a Chamberlain, and Richard Quyny a Taster and a Constable.[2] On election day, however, the 5 October, Adrian Quyny was appointed Bailiff, John Sadler having made excuse, probably on the

[1] *Register*, p. 9. [2] Council Book A, p. 215.

ground of ill health. And at this meeting, let it be noted, Adrian Quyny's influence was still further augmented by the election of his step-son, Charles Baynton, to be a Principal Burgess.[1] Apparently Adrian Quyny recognized the delicacy of his position, for neither his son-in-law, Bardolf, nor his son took office under him, other men being appointed in their stead. He seems to have been a thoroughly honourable man, attentive to his duties and impartial in administration.

Certain events during his bailiwick deserve mention. They are (1) the survey on the 5th and 6th of November of the Corporation property, and the thinning-out of the trees (especially elms), which were so numerous that Stratford might almost have stood in a wood;[2] (2) the settlement in Stratford on 6 November of Alexander Aspinall, a Master of Arts of Oxford, as Schoolmaster, who continued in this post for forty-two years and trained not a few young Stratfordians for the University;[3] (3) a rather bad fire about 6 November on the Bailiff's own premises, for

[1] *Ib.*, p. 217 f.

[2] *Ib.*, pp. 220 ff. In spite of clearance of the woodland outside the Town (see Leland, *Itinerary*).

[3] Chamberlains' Accompts, 11 Jan. 1583 and Jan. 1586. He entered Brasenose *c.* 1571–2, 'Lancs., aet. 20' (*Register*, ii. 2. 27), 'Adm. B.A. 25 Feb. $157\frac{4}{5}$, suppl. M.A. 20 Feb. $157\frac{7}{8}$, lic. 12 June 1578, inc. 1577' (*Ib.*, ii. 3. 50). He was buried in Stratford 4 Feb. 1624 (*Register*, p. 105).

the injury of which he was voted a gift of six elms towards rebuilding;[1] (4) an order on 7 November by the Council that every Alderman shall provide two leather buckets and each Principal Burgess one 'for a defence against fire';[2] (5) the baptism on 27 November of Richard Quyny's first child, Elizabeth;[3] (6) the issue this day or the next at Worcester of a licence of marriage between William Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway;[4] (7) a performance about Christmas before the Bailiff and his Puritan council in the Gild Hall by Edward Allen's company of players, the Earl of Worcester's servants;[5] (8) the gift of an ox, probably as a Christmas or New Year's present, by the Corporation to the much respected, not to say loved, lord of the manor, Ambrose Earl of Warwick;[6] (9) the making of his will by John Sadler on 1 March 1583;[7] and his burial in the parish church on 12 March,[8] when, no doubt,

[1] Council Book A, p. 224. The minute of this gift is in his own handwriting. [2] *Ib.*, p. 223. [3] *Register*, p. 34.

[4] *Ib.*, xxxii, fol. 43 b. By a slip, his eye falling on the name of another prospective bride, the clerk has entered 'Whateley de Temple Grafton' for 'Hathaway of Shottery'. That Shakespeare's bride was 'Anne Hathaway of Shottery' appears in the bond signed by her friends, Fulke Sandells and John Richardson. Such slips are not uncommon in the registers.

[5] Chamberlains' Accompt, 11 Jan. 1583 (Council Book A, p. 106). [6] *Ib.* (p. 107).

[7] Worcester Probate Court. [8] *Register*, p. 34.

according to the rule of the Council, Aldermen and Principal Burgesses attended in their gowns ;[1] (10) a resolution by the Council next day appointing collectors in the different wards of the borough for the repair of the Church, Adrian Quyny undertaking with a colleague the High Street ward, and Nicholas Barnhurst with a colleague the Sheep Street ward ;[2] (11) Lenten sermons in February and March in the Gild Chapel by the vicar, Master Henry Haycroft, in the dark mornings before business hours, for which a pound of wax candles was voted, price three pence and an *obolus* (otherwise a halfpenny), in modern money about half a crown a pound ;[3] (12) the mending on 15 March of the Great Bell in the Chapel tower (which was tolled at fires and funerals) ;[4] (13) an order of 7 May that all inhabitants shall 'make sufficient chimneys' in their dwellings ;[5] (14) a Whitsun pastime (Whitsunday was the 19 May), prepared and presented by a son-in-law of the Bailiff, Davy Jones (lately husband to Richard Quyny's sister Elizabeth, deceased), towards the cost of which the Puritan Council voted the considerable sum of one mark

[1] *Minutes and Accounts*, I. 66. [2] Council Book A, p. 230.
[3] Chamberlains' Accompt, 11 Jan. 1584 (Council Book A. p. 111). [4] *Ib.*
[5] Council Book A, p. 232.

(13*s.* 4*d.*, say £6 in our money);[1] (15) the baptism in the parish church on Sunday, 26 May (Trinity Sunday), after the second lesson, in the presence of the congregation,[2] of William Shakespeare's

[1] Chamberlains' Accompt, 11 Jan. 1584 (p. 112). Cf. Julia's speech in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV. iv. 163 ff.:

> At Pentecost,
> When all our pageants of delight were played,
> Our youth got me to play the woman's part,
> And I was trimmed in Madam Julia's gown,
> Which served me as fit, by all men's judgements,
> As if the garment had been made for me:
> And at that time I made her weep agood,
> For I did play a lamentable part.
> Madam, 'twas Ariadne, passioning
> For Theseus' perjury, and unjust flight;
> Which I so lively acted with my tears
> That my poor mistress, moved therewithal,
> Wept bitterly.

And Perdita's in *The Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 132 ff.:

> Come, take your flowers:
> Methinks I play as I have seen them do
> In Whitsun pastorals.

In the same Accompt is the item, 'to the Lord Bartlet (Berkeley) his players and to a preacher, 5*s.*' See p. 48.

[2] So it is appointed in Elizabeth's Prayer Book. The young father and mother were evidently not a little proud of their offspring, Sunday being *par excellence* the day for a semi-public function. They had nothing to be ashamed of, though their marriage preceded the baptism only six months. The domestic contract was the binding ceremony, marriage in church was the concluding rite. So, at any rate, it was in 1582. Thirty years later sentiment and custom had changed.

firstborn, Alderman John Shakespeare's first grandchild, who received the name of the heroine in the Apocrypha, much commended by Puritans, Susanna ;[1] (16) the baptism in the same place on Saturday 24 August of William, the child of Abraham Sturley and his wife Anne, daughter to Alderman Richard Hill ;[2] and (17), last but not least, the baptism in the church on 26 September of William, son to William Parsons and his wife Margaret, daughter to the late Alderman Sadler, and cousin of Shakespeare's friend, Hamlet Sadler.[3]

§ 7. *Abraham Sturley*

These little Williams are not beneath consideration. Christenings were important functions, attended by sponsors, relatives, and friends. The Christian names are often a clue to kinship and friendship. The father of William Sturley (or Strelley) belonged to the Worcester branch of his family. John Sturley, bedder, of St. Helen's parish, who made his will in 1550, leaving £10 apiece to his six young children,[4] and Harry Sturley of the same parish, to whom children were born in the early 'sixties,[5] may have been Abraham Sturley's uncles. Abraham entered as a pensioner at Queens' College, Cambridge, in 1569.[6] By the

[1] *Register*, p. 35.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 36.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] Worcester Wills.
[5] Register of St. Helen's, Worcester.
[6] So Dr. Venn informs me.

marriage of his mother, Mistress Elizabeth Sturley, on 11 September 1572, at Harvington (between Stratford and Evesham), to Master Robert Perrott,[1] he became connected with Stratford and with Perrott's son-in-law, Master Richard Woodward of Shottery and Butler's Marston, a wealthy Puritan who named his eldest son Ezechias and his first three daughters Susanna, Judith, and Esther.[2] At Michaelmas 1575, and possibly for some time previously, he was in the service, in a legal capacity, of Sir Thomas Lucy. His name occurs in a list of the knight's 'servants' in William Foxe's *Household Book of Charlecote*[3] under that date, and is scored through apparently as a clerical error, he being a 'retainer' and not merely a 'servant' of the house. He married, as already said,[4] Anne Hill in Stratford Church in the year of her father's bailiwick, on Sunday the 11th of December 1575,[5] in the presence, we may be sure, of a large congregation of town notables and nobodies, eager to witness

[1] Harvington Register. Robert Perrott was a brewer in Stratford and an Alderman, with Puritan opinions: see his will, with a long religious preamble, 8 March 1589, P. C. C. 39 Leicester.

[2] *Register*, pp. 21, 32. And Woodward's Will, P. C. C. 42 Montague. P. 193 f.

[3] Unearthed and transcribed by Mr. Savage. [4] P. 27.

[5] *Register*, p. 7.

the wedding of the Bailiff's daughter. He took his wife to Bedwardine, Worcester, where he resided in a house called the Coningre ; [1] and here his first three children were born, Henry (baptized 5 May 1577), Elizabeth (baptized 8 February 1579), and Richard (baptized 10 February 1580).[2] Soon afterwards (when, as I suspect, William Parsons removed from Alderman Hill's woollen-drapery to a shop of his own at the other end of Wood Street) [3] he brought his family to Stratford, to his father-in-law's house, where he probably had an office. Again in 1580 he was in the service of Sir Thomas Lucy, his name appearing next to that of Master Henry Rogers in a list of Lucy's 'retainers'. As a lawyer [4] he may have been in partnership with Rogers. He was also a yeoman. From the time of his settlement in Stratford in 1580, if not earlier, he was occupied in husbandry. He had barns, and he stored grain for the squire of Charlecote, among others.[5]

§ 8. *William Parsons*

To Abraham Sturley's child William, William Parsons or William Shakespeare may have stood godfather in August 1583. William Parsons was

[1] Otherwise the Rabbit Warren.
[2] Register of St. John's, Bedwardine.
[3] P. 40.
[4] Bond of obligation, Misc. Doc. xii. 48.
[5] P. 129

probably an apprentice and servant to Alderman Hill. He married Margaret Sadler, Hamlet Sadler's cousin, on Sunday 3 August 1578.[1] Walter Roche (late schoolmaster, now a lawyer) was his surety (and presumably his warm friend) in the taking out of the marriage-bond two days previously at Worcester. He was elected a Taster with George Bardolf on 3 September 1578,[2] and a Constable with the same colleague on 2 September 1579.[3] His name occurs on a list of suggested candidates for the burghership on 20 January 1580,[4] with Bardolf, Charles Baynton, and Richard Quyny, and he was elected a burgess with Bardolf and Quyny on 7 September 1580.[5] On the latter date he was granted a lease of the house recently vacated by the death (in April) of John Page, at the corner of Wood Street and Rother Market.[6] Here he set up for himself as a woollen draper; and here were born in succession his children *John*, *William*, and *Anne* (baptized on 14 November 1581, 26 September 1583, and during his churchwardenship, 14 March 1585),[7] and, after a considerable interval, *Mary* (baptized 11 January 1598).[8] It is difficult to resist the suspicion that

[1] *Register*, p. 8. [2] Council Book A, p. 185 f.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 194 (August is a slip for September).
[4] *Ib.*, p. 200. [5] *Ib.*, p. 202.
[6] *Ib.* Also lease of 14 December.
[7] *Register*, pp. 32, 36, 39. [8] *Ib.*, p. 60.

the first three babes, and probably the fourth, were named after the heads of the Shakespeare household in Henley Street—John Shakespeare, William Shakespeare (the friend of the mother's kinsman), Anne Hathaway, and Mary Arden. John, the eldest of these children, lived to be a fellow student at Balliol College, Oxford, with Abraham Sturley's son Richard, matriculating the same day as Richard Sturley and a third boy from Stratford, a student at Exeter College, Nicholas Byfield, son to the then vicar of Stratford, the Puritan Richard Byfield, on 6 May 1597.[1] It is pleasant to think of the two Aldermen, John Shakespeare and Richard Hill, already linked by the latter's sponsorship to the former's son (Richard Shakespeare, baptized 11 March 1574),[2] having godsons in the same street who in after years went together to the University.

§ 9. *William Shakespeare an Attorney's Clerk*

That William Shakespeare was an attorney's clerk in his early manhood, as pointed out by Lord Campbell, can hardly be questioned. His legal terms are legion, are sometimes of a highly technical character, are frequently metaphorical,

[1] *Register of the University of Oxford*, ii. 2. 219.

[2] *Register*, p. 27.

and, most convincing of all, are often wrought into the very fibre of his writing. When our attention has once been drawn to them it is difficult to get away from them.[1] If they were not so obviously part of himself they might injure our pleasure in some of his finest passages. Second nature speaks in such lines as

> Arms, take your last embrace! and lips, O you
> The doors of breath, *seal* with a righteous kiss
> A *dateless bargain* to *engrossing* Death![2]

What lover but a scrivener or lawyer's clerk would think in such a moment of the engrossing and sealing of a document? Or what perplexed philosopher but an attorney would bring in the term *quietus* from Chamberlains' accounts or Exchequer discharges when meditating suicide?[3] Shakespeare was not on the look out for a legal expression when he put on Dame Quickly's lips the pathetic words about Falstaff, '*A' made a finer*

[1] Mr. Robertson's scepticism in *The Baconian Heresy* (pp. 41 ff., 113 ff., &c.) is groundless. Shakespeare's legalisms are *not* like those of contemporary dramatists, intermittent and decorative, schoolmaster's or poet's law scattered over their pages, but are persistent and inherent. It is impossible for him to write anything without betraying the attorney—even that lovely little dirge, *The Phoenix and Turtle*, has 'From this *session interdict*'. His medicine, it is true, like Ben Jonson's law, is brought in and worked up for a purpose, but his law slips from him unawares.

[2] *Romeo and Juliet*, v. iii 113–15. [3] *Hamlet*, III. i. 75 ff.

'*end* and went away an it had been any christom 'child;'[1] or when he gave to Quince as Prologue in *Pyramus and Thisbe* the ridiculous legal tag, *Our true intent is*.[2] Equally undramatic but delightful to those who recognize it, and convincing to them of the author's early profession, is such a phrase as that in the mouth of the servant in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. v. 16 f., eager for his share of the scraps of the feast, '*the longer-liver* take all', that is, *diucius vivens*, the survivor, as in Robert Arden's deed of settlement, 17 July 1550,[3] and Richard Hathaway's will, 1 September 1581.[4]

We need not claim for the Poet profound knowledge of the law. He was not a barrister nor a councillor. It is enough that he was an artist of consummate genius 'immured' for a period (to employ one of his own Latinisms) in a country attorney's office, and the facts demand no less. Only on the assumption of personal and

[1] *Henry V*, II. iii. 11. To 'make a final end' was a legal phrase for the conclusion of a case, as in An Act for the Payment of Tithes at Coventry, January 1558.

[2] *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, v. i. 114. Cf. 'Yet our true intent is', &c., in the agreement of the Warwick Chamber with William Combe, 30 May 1594 (*Black Book*, p. 407).

[3] *Outlines*, ii. 173 ff.

[4] P. C. C. 31 Tirwhite. Shakespeare's legal terms were sometimes too much for the printers and the source of textual corruption, as in *Measure for Measure*. See *Was Shakespeare a Lawyer?* by H. T., pp. 5–26.

expert acquaintance with the procedure of the Court Leet and the Court of Record, the imposition of fine and punishment (by imprisonment, whipping, and setting in the stocks, pillory, or cucking-stool), the issue of warrants by the Steward or Town Clerk, and their execution by the Serjeants-at-the-Mace, the duties of Constable and Affeeror, the phraseology and tautology of minutes and accounts, wills and inventories, leases and conveyances, the making of marks and signatures, the handling of paper and parchment, pen, ink, wax and seal, can the phenomena which perpetually present and even obtrude themselves in Shakespeare's earliest writings, be explained.

Such experience was less likely in the service of Thomas Trussell (a kinsman probably of Mary Arden), Walter Roche (late Schoolmaster), or William Court (son of a former Steward), than of the Town Clerk and Steward from 1571 to 1586, Henry Rogers. Shakespeare was probably in Rogers's office when on 11 February 1580, after nearly two months' local talk and excitement, the body of Katharine Hamlet spinster was taken from her grave at Alveston, and Rogers as Coroner held an inquest on the same, and concurred with the verdict of the jury that her death by drowning in the Avon at Tiddington (about a mile from

Stratford) on the 17 December, was *per infortunium* (by accident) and not a case of *felo de se*: whereby she was entitled to Christian burial.[1]

§ 10. *The Quyny Household*

Richard Quyny, his wife and child, were living with his father and step-mother in the High Street—as I doubt not William Shakespeare and his wife and babe shared his parents' double house in Henley Street. Like his father, Richard was a mercer. They had one business. They sold groceries and draperies—green taffeta, fustian, skeins of silk, silk buttons, Southwich cloth, Worcestershire hose.[2] Other commodities passed through their hands—bell metal, red lead, bricks and tiles. They made money by husbandry and malt. In the absence of banks, tradesmen were dependent on moneylenders, who were frequently local gentlemen. On 14 October 1583, for example, Adrian and Richard Quyny signed a bond for 200 marks to John Somerville of Edreston (or Edstone, Wootton Wawen) to secure him in a loan of 100 marks.[3] Failing their day they

[1] Ancient Indictments 652, part 2, mem. 262. P.R.O.

[2] P. 146.

[3] John Somerville at this time was investing money which, privately, he feared would be confiscated if his plot with the Ardens of Park Hall failed. He was indicted on 2 December

were liable to pay twice the sum they had borrowed. Ready money was very scarce, and debtors held back until the last moment. The Court of Record was continually resorted to, but its precepts were more or less formal and disregarded until the final *capias*, or warrant for arrest. Hence the issue of this precept on leading townsmen. Adrian Quyny, who had many irons in the fire, figured largely in the Court, as *querens* and *defendens*, as well as magistrate, sometimes as attorney and arbitrator. Only John Shakespeare was less prominent, if indeed he was, in the same place, and there were occasions when they faced each other, *protagonistes*.[1]

The Quyny household grew in numbers and prosperity. Reduced by the marriage and departure of the step-children and Richard's sisters, it increased with Richard's family. An Adrian was born to him in 1584, who died in infancy. A second Adrian was born in 1586, then a Richard

1583 at Warwick and charged with treasonable talk at Edstone on 22 and 24 October. On 25 October he set out for London with the intention of shooting the Queen and was arrested at an inn near Aynho. Stratford was greatly excited over this business. Henry Rogers, the Town Clerk, was employed in the search for incriminating documents and paid 60*s*. on 20 November (Accounts of the Chamber). Edward Arden was executed at Smithfield on 20 December. Somerville hung himself in Newgate the previous day. Their heads were set up on London Bridge.

[1] For instance, in the years so far apart as 1558 and 1591.

in 1587.[1] The father was then serving his two years of Chamberlainship, with another rising townsman, John Gibbs. They were elected to this office on 6 September 1586, when Nicholas Barnhurst was nominated for his second bailiwick but passed over apparently on account of his perversity, and John Shakespeare and John Wheeler for their long absence and disregard of the Council meetings were replaced as Aldermen by more willing men.[2] On the conclusion of his term of office Richard Quyny was made an Alderman, on 6 September 1588, a few weeks after the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

§ 11. *Shakespeare Joins the Players*

THERE is no inconsistency in Shakespeare's friendship with men like Richard Quyny, William Parsons, and Abraham Sturley. Until the defeat of the Armada English Protestantism was Puritan. That event, indeed, was the signal achievement of Elizabethan Puritanism. And so long as the dread of the Pope and Spain weighed upon the English mind there was little or no hostility between Puritanism and the drama. Plays were for the most part didactic and anti-Catholic. From the days of the Protestant martyrs there had been, as Foxe tells us, something of an

[1] *Register of Baptisms*, pp. 38, 41, 43; *Burials*, p. 36.

[2] Council Book A, p. 259; and see further, p. 81.

alliance among preachers, printers, and players.[1] Master Robert Willis speaks of the 'harmless' plays and 'morals' of his boyhood (he was born the same year as Shakespeare), welcomed by the corporations of Gloucester and other towns, 'far unlike' the dramas of his old age, which might be termed 'schoolmasters of vice and provocations 'of corruption'.[2] The change in the drama even more than in the audience explains why Stratford and other boroughs encouraged players in 1569, under Master John Shakespeare's bailiwick,[3] and for a generation afterwards, and then refused to allow them to perform and even paid them to go away. While Stratford grew presbyterian, the drama lost its old religious earnestness, became secular, frivolous, and at last licentious. Thus it was that no less than five travelling companies of actors were welcomed and rewarded for performances in the Gild Hall by the Stratford Council in the year 1587.[4]

[1] *Acts and Monuments*, vi. 31 ff. Cf. Abbot Feckenham at Westminster, 26 April 1559, 'the preachers and scaffold-players of this New Religion' (Strype, *Annals*, i. 2, 431 ff.). See above, p. 36, note 1.

[2] *Mount Tabor*, p. 110 f. (1629).

[3] Sir Sidney Lee's statement (*Life of Shakespeare*, p. 13 note) that 'John Shakespeare's encouragement of actors is conclusive proof that he was no puritan', lacks corroboration.

[4] Council Book A, p. 296. The entries are in the following order: 'to the Queen's players xx^{s}', 'to my Lord of Essex' players v^{s}', 'to the Earl of Leicester's players x^{s}', 'to another company iii^{s} iiij^{d}', 'to my Lord Stafford's men iii^{s} iiij^{d}'.

Among them was the great Earl of Leicester's troupe,[1] which included players and musicians of talent, of considerable means, and of some connexion, probably, with Warwickshire. With this company, we may believe, William Shakespeare departed from Stratford, abandoning law for the more romantic and lucrative profession of the stage, eager to see England, London, and the Court, to earn more money for his family, and to find scope for his poetic and histrionic genius. If so, he travelled with his fellows along the south coast, performing in the seaport towns, in the *annus mirabilis* 1588, when there was keen look-out for the Spanish fleet. They were at Dover in February,[2] at Plymouth in May.[3] Thence they turned northward, playing at Bath [4] and Gloucester in June,[5] and in Coventry about July, receiving in the Midland capital the handsome reward (in addition to what was gathered) of 40*s*.[6] Shakespeare would hardly miss the opportunity of visiting Stratford, where on 18 July the bridge was broken by a flood, the result of the stormy season which kept the Armada at the Groin and the English ships in harbour, running short of provisions, at Plymouth. We read in Welford Church register: 'Old Father

[1] *English Dramatic Companies 1558–1642*, J. Tucker Murray, i. 26–42. [2] *Ib.*, ii, p. 263. [3] *Ib.*, p. 384, 'the 15th of May' [4] *Ib.*, p. 202. [5] *Ib.*, p. 283. [6] *Ib.*, p. 239.

'Porter, being 109 years of age, never knew the 'Avon so high by a yard and a half in the house. 'It broke down Grange Mill, the crack whereof 'was heard at Holditch. It broke up sundry 'houses in Warwick Town and carried away 'their bread, beef, cheese, butter, pots and pans. 'It took away three wains with the furniture of 'Sir Thomas Lucy. It broke both ends of 'Stratford Bridge: three men going over when 'they went to the middle of the bridge could 'not go forward, and then returned but could 'not go back.'[1] Henry Rogers and Abraham Sturley would not be uninterested in Sir Thomas Lucy's losses, and to Richard Quyny as acting Chamberlain fell the task of repairing the Bridge.[2] Soon church bells and bonfires announced the approach of the Spaniards. A hundred horsemen set out for Tilbury furnished by the gentlemen of Warwickshire.[3] Sir Thomas Lucy rode over from Charlecote to Stratford to inspect the footmen raised in the town.[4] Among these were William Baynton and Richard Tyler, Shakespeare's friend, who wore swords and daggers.[5] Master Pye, a minister, preached a sermon in the Gild

[1] Transcribed by Mr. Savage.

[2] See his Accompt, 29 Jan. 1589. Council Book A, 297–9.

[3] *S. P. Domestic, Elizabeth*, Vol. 214 (25[1]), 4 August.

[4] Chamberlains' Accompt, 29 Jan. 1589.

[5] So I interpret the entry in the Constables' Bill of Charges,

Chapel[1]—probably Thomas Pye, who entered Balliol College, Oxford, in December 1577, aged eighteen, from Staffordshire. Sir Fulke Greville, father of Sidney's friend, spent a night at Master Woodward's house in Shottery.[2] Tidings followed of the pursuit of the Spanish ships up the Channel, the surprise at Gravelines, and the flight into the North Sea.

Two uneventful deaths call for notice in the first half of this momentous twelvemonth. In January Alderman Hill lost his shepherd, Richard Cowper, who made his will on the 20th and was buried on the 26th.[3] He was a thrifty fellow, and left £37 odd, which he had loaned to trusted friends, the bulk of it, £22, to his master's son-in-law, Abraham Sturley. A small sum was in the hands of David Jones. Cowper bequeathed 3*s.* 4*d.* to Sturley's son, Henry, now in his eleventh year. Other bequests were to his master's servants in Wood Street—Anne Smith, Joan Hearing, and Joan Newale.[4] These small particulars help us to picture the household and realize the kindly spirit of it. The other death was that of John Robins, wooldriver, a kinsman of Master

'Paid William Baynton and Richard Tyler for their swords and daggers' (Misc. Doc. xii. 34).

[1] Chamberlains' Accompt, 29 Jan. 1589.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Register*, p. 42.

[4] Wills and Inventories, no. 25. Misc. Doc. i. 61.

Richard Woodward of Shottery. Abraham Sturley drew up his will, and witnessed it on 1 June. With Richard Woodward he was appointed an overseer. On 1 July he and William Parsons, with others, made the inventory of the household properties.[1] A paragraph in the will is worth quoting for its use three times over of a legal term which Shakespeare employs (with many others) in his early work: 'Master Richard 'Watts of Yewmill in the County of Gloucester, 'clothier, doth owe me three score and two 'pounds, nineteen shillings: *videlicet* £40 thereof 'by specialty, £22 19*s.* 0*d.* without specialty.' . . . 'The debts I owe are all upon specialty save £6 'to Ferdinando Morris'—Ferdinando Morris being a nephew of Master Sturley. *Specialty* is a *bond* or *deed*, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, when Boyet says to the King:

> So please your Grace, the packet is not come
> Where that and other specialties are bound (II. i. 163 f.);

and in *The Taming of the Shrew*, in Petruchio's speech:

> And for that dowry, I'll assure her of
> Her widowhood, be it that she survive me,
> In all my lands and leases whatsoever.
> Let specialties be therefore drawn between us,
> That covenants may be kept on either hand (II. i. 124 ff.).[2]

[1] Worcester Wills and Inventories: A. D. 1588, no. 120.

[2] So Sturley to Quyny, 24 January 1598: 'I would you were 'furnished to pay William Pattrike for me £11, and bring his

Early next year, on 26 February 1589,[1] was baptized Richard Quyny's fourth child, Thomas, the boy who afterwards married Shakespeare's daughter Judith. At this moment Judith was four years and a few days old. She and her twin brother Hamlet (or Hamnet) were baptized on Candlemas Day, 2 February 1585,[2] being named doubtless after Hamlet Sadler and his wife Judith, *née* Staunton of Longbridge. Like her sister, Judith Shakespeare bore the name of a heroine in the Apocrypha.

§ 12. *Shakespeare Godchildren in Richard Quyny's Family*

Aubrey says that 'Shakespeare was wont to go to his native country once a year'.[3] There is evidence far from negligible that he was in Stratford in the summer of 1590, and again in the summer of 1593. In the baptismal register, under the date 21 September 1590, is the entry, 'William, son to Master Richard Quyny.'[4] The child lived two years, and was buried at Alveston on 10 October 1592.[5] Again in the baptismal register is the entry, under date 23 July 1593, 'Wilhelmus filius Richardi Queny.'[6] After

'quittance, for I think his specialty is, in John Knight's hand, 'due on Candlemas Day' (Misc. Doc. i. 135).

[1] *Register*, p. 46. [2] *Ib.*, p. 39.

[3] Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, ii. 71.

[4] P. 49. [5] Alveston Register. [6] P. 54.

whom did Richard Quyny name these two boys in succession *William*, but his friend the Poet? This is not a mere guess. In the names of the Richard Quyny children we observe the same phenomenon as in the Parsons family. In the years 1590 to 1597 they appear as follows in the baptismal register in succession: 21 September 1590, *William*; 5 January 1592, *Anne*;[1] 23 July 1593, *William*; 1 December 1594, *Mary*;[2] 11 June 1597, *John*.[3] Here again are the Christian names of the heads of the Henley Street household. If my conclusion is sound, that Shakespeare stood sponsor to the two babes baptized William, I need hardly point out its significance in the biography of the Poet. It undermines the theory (if the theory has any foundation to undermine) that Shakespeare left Stratford for upwards of a decade.

§ 13. *Shakespeare's Friend, Richard Tyler*

But to continue our chronicle. On 14 March 1589 was buried Alderman William Tyler.[4] His son Richard, Shakespeare's friend, was at that moment in disgrace with the old retired Alderman, Robert Perrott the brewer. Perrott, it will be remembered, had married Mistress Sturley for

[1] P. 51. (See below, p. 208, note 5.) [2] P. 56.
[3] P. 59. [4] *Burial Register*, p. 44.

his second if not his third wife.[1] His daughter by his first wife, Frances, married Richard Woodward, who owned lands at Meon and Butler's Marston and resided at Shottery. They had a large family of nine children, of whom Ezechias the eldest, a student at Oxford, was about nineteen years of age, and Frances the youngest, a few days old, at Christmas 1588. Richard Tyler's offence consisted in his loving and marrying against the wishes of her parents, shortly before or after this date, the eldest daughter, Susanna, who was not much over sixteen. He was a little over twenty-two. The fact that they were not married in Stratford points to a runaway wedding. Old Perrott shared the wrath of his son-in-law, and in his will of 8 March 1589[2] (sixteen days before his own burial[3] and six days before that of Alderman Tyler) he excluded Susanna from benefit. He made handsome legacies to her brothers and sisters, but she was by name 'excepted'. Abraham Sturley as overseer of the will had no alternative but to see his step-father's instructions adhered to; but his sympathies are probably reflected in his father-in-law's will of 16 May 1590.[4] Good Alderman Hill showed his confidence in young Tyler by

[1] P. 38. [2] P. C. C. 39 Leicester.
[3] At Nether Quinton. [4] P. 87.

appointing him (his 'cousin' and 'well-beloved') an overseer, with a gift of 40*s*. Young as he was, moreover, Richard Tyler was nominated a Taster by his friends on the Borough Council on 3 September 1589.[1] He did not serve, but he was elected and sworn a Principal Burgess on 15 July 1590.[2] He was evidently popular in the borough, where Perrott had not been a *persona grata*.[3] Echoes of his romance may be preserved in *Romeo and Juliet*. Squire Woodward, if we may judge from his will, was something of a Capulet. He had difficulty with his younger sons, John and Richard (Ezechias seems to have been exemplary), as well as with his daughter. He never forgave Susanna, or her husband, though he left their son, Richard Tyler junior, '£5 a year to 'keep him at School',[4] i. e. at the University.[5] Richard Tyler did not remain long in the Council. His interests were elsewhere, and his name was removed from the roll of Burgesses on or before 26 July 1594.[6] He lived in Rother Market, had children (most of whom died young), became 'gentleman', churchwarden, and a highly respected townsman.

[1] Council Book A, p. 307. [2] *Ib.*, p. 319.
[3] P. 164. Council Book A, pp. 137–42. [4] P. 193 f.
[5] Cf. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 112 f.: 'Your intent in going back to school in Wittenberg'; *As You Like It*, I. i. 5 f.: 'My brother Jaques he keeps at school'. [6] Council Book B, p. 3.

§ 14. *Abraham Sturley's Advent to the Chamber 1591*

In October 1590 William Parsons was appointed Bailiff.[1] In the new year he was in London with Alderman Barber on borough matters.[2] On 31 March 1591 Abraham Sturley, who had twice been elected but had made excuse (in 1588 and 1589),[3] was chosen and sworn a Principal Burgess.[4] His advent to the Council was of consequence. The Quyny régime had suffered by the lax attendance of George Bardolf and Charles Baynton (whose names were removed from the roll of Burgesses in July 1590),[5] and by the cantankerous behaviour of Nicholas Barnhurst.[6] Puritan councillors were wont to speak their minds, and they did not always do it judiciously or courteously. Barnhurst would lose his temper, and throw out epithets hardly calculated to make peace in the Chamber. Sturley exercised a restraining influence.[7] He was a University man with know-

[1] Council Book A, p. 320 f.

[2] Chamberlains' Accompt, 14 Jan. 1592.

[3] Council Book A, pp. 289, 307.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 326. [5] *Ib.*, p. 319. [6] Pp. 107, 163 f.

[7] How trying he found the meetings sometimes may be gathered from his letter to Richard Quyny on 20 Nov. 1598 ('our trivial meetings'), p. 153. His language in another letter about his colleagues can hardly be described as restrained, but it is private: p. 141 f. Cf. p. 166.

ledge of law, and deeply religious. He belonged to the 'Brotherhood', an inner circle of Protestants whose piety was personal rather than political. He was not inclined, like John Shakespeare, John Wheeler, Barnhurst, and other independent spirits, to nonconformity and recusancy, but rather to devout attendance at church, and psalmody and prayer at home. His letters contain reflections and exhortations of the most genuine character and practical application to life. He called Richard Quyny 'brother' and his wife 'sister'.[1] Towards other friends he employed the same terms, and he was evidently a central figure of the fraternity. With the Quynys his relations were most cordial.

On 2 January 1591 Adrian Quyny buried his wife, Richard's step-mother,[2] and was again a widower. He was now elderly, and did not take a third wife. We may think of him as happy among his grandchildren, and active as ever in business and municipal affairs, ably supported by his talented son. Richard's name appears as witness to a contract with the Leicester bell-founder, Edward Newcombe, dated 30 July 1591, for the recasting of the Great Bell at the Chapel, 'with good and perfect metal, in right form

[1] Whence Malone assumed, incorrectly, that Quyny married for a second wife a sister of Abraham Sturley.

[2] *Register*, p. 47.

'and fashion, and of a sweet and perfect sound'. His seal is attached, with his arms, in evidence of his rank as a gentleman.[1] On 8 September 1592 his father had the gratification of voting for him as Bailiff. He was elected, receiving fourteen 'voices' to his opponent's two. William Parsons was chosen his Head Alderman.[2] The conjunction of names is significant. It is a pleasure to think of Shakespeare's two friends to whose children, if my view be correct, he had stood godfather, occupying at this time, when he was making his début at Court as a dramatist and a poet, the highest positions in his native town.[3]

§ 15. *'Love's Labour's Lost,' 1591–2*

A LINK between Stratford and the Court was *Love's Labour's Lost*. It was probably one of the six plays performed by Shakespeare's company (now Lord Strange's men) at Whitehall at Christmas and Shrovetide 1591–1592; and with equal probability it was written by Shakespeare the previous autumn in Henley Street. His genius hardly saves the incongruity of its features. The park and the fallow-deer, 'meadows painted

[1] P. 6. Misc. Doc. xii. 43. See p. 22 and note 3. Sir Sidney Lee refers us, I am afraid in vain, to a book published in the reign of James I (Guillim's *Heraldry*, 1610), as his authority for the declaration that 'the Elizabethan puritans regarded coat-armour with abhorrence' (*Life*, p. 13 note).

[2] Council Book A, p. 340.

[3] P. 73.

'with delight', maidens 'bleaching their summer 'smocks', larks and cuckoos, owls, daws and pigeons, 'roses blooming in the summer air', the shepherd, the milkmaid, Tom with his logs, greasy Joan, the children's games, outdoor and indoor sports, caudle, flapdragon, and 'lamb's 'wool', the wind in the old church-roof, the coughing during sermon, the beadle and his whip, the pedlar, *sheep* pronounced as *ship*, are pure Stratford; and of the *dramatis personae*, Costard and Jaquenetta, Dull the tharborough, the Forester, the Curate and the Schoolmaster are Shakespeare's neighbours, familiar from his youth. Elizabeth's ladies and gentlemen are brought into Warwickshire, and entertained, by the natives as well as by themselves, and sent back to Whitehall, notwithstanding the odd things said and the odd folk seen, wiser than they came.

In Sir Nathaniel and Holofernes we recognize unmistakable local worthies. Sir Nathaniel is a caricature of Sir William Gilbert *alias* Higgës (pronounced Hidges). Save for a brief sojourn at Wootton Wawen, Gilbert resided in Stratford from 1559 until his death in 1612. He was one of those inoffensive, ill-equipped young men who obtained orders at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign owing to the great lack of Protestant ministers. He played many parts—as usher, curate, poor man's lawyer, scrivener, and keeper of the

town clocks. He could write a good hand, knew a scrap of Latin, was married three times and had thirteen children. How he and his lived only the Lord in His inscrutable wisdom knows. Notwithstanding his humble gifts he gained esteem, probably without ever preaching a sermon, possibly on that account. When his licence was threatened by the Bishop in 1604 the Corporation pleaded for him, that they had known him for many years 'to be of a very 'honest, quiet, sober, and good behaviour, *diligent* '*to do all such things as are required at his hands*' —O sancta simplicitas !—'by the which he hath 'well deserved our loving affections'.[1] Behold, indeed, an Israelite in whom was no guile ![2]

With even greater confidence we may recognize in Holofernes a burlesque of Master Alexander Aspinall. This gentleman entered Brasenose College from Lancashire, aged 20, about the year 1572, took his B.A. in 1575 and his M.A. in 1578.[3] In November 1582 he settled in Stratford, having an infant son also named Alexander.[4] In course of time there was Alexander the Great and Alexander the Little for schoolboys and townsmen to comment upon. Some perhaps, after chastise-

[1] Letter to Chancellor Wood, 18 June. Worcester Consistory Court. The Corporation spoke feelingly; the Vicars had not been so amenable.

[2] John i. 47.

[3] *Register of the University*, ii. 2. 27, 3. 50.

[4] *Ib.* ii. 2. 246.

ment at his hands, felt justified in speaking of 'Alexander the Pig'.[1] He too undertook more roles than one—as Schoolmaster, Chamberlain, Alderman, and Deputy Town Clerk. He was an exact and exemplary person, with his finger in almost every borough pie, and facetiously known among his colleagues as *Great Philip Macedon*.[2] In 1594 he married Widow Shaw, relict of Rafe Shaw, John Shakespeare's friend in Chapel Street,[3] and mother of William Shakespeare's friend, Julins[4] Shaw. Before the wedding on 28 October[5] he made his mistress the customary present of a pair of gloves—no doubt of the embroidered and perfumed kind that Dumain gives to Katharine in *Love's Labour's Lost*;[6] and to accompany the gift, purchased presumably at Alderman Shakespeare's shop, William Shakespeare, being then at home, wrote a posy—

The Gift is small, the Will is all:
Alexander Aspinall.[7]

[1] *Henry the Fifth*, iv. vii. 13 ff. [2] Misc. Doc. i. 4, 6.
[3] P. 82. [4] *Not* Julius. [5] *Register*, p. 17.
[6] *Princess.* But what was sent to you from fair Dumain?
Katharine. Madam, this glove.
Princess. Did he not send you twain?
Katharine. Yes, madam, and moreover,
Some thousand verses of a faithful lover
(v. ii. 47–50). Cf. *Outlines*, i. 65.
[7] So I interpret the somewhat cryptic entry in the manuscript.

The first line (a commonplace [1]) is ludicrously overweighted by the great man's name.

Once the Corporation ventured to reprimand him. He kept school in the Gild Chapel. On 14 February 1595 they resolved that the practice should cease: 'At this hall it is agreed by the 'Bailiff and the greater number of the Company 'now present, that there shall be no school kept 'in the Chapel from this time following.' [2] We are reminded of the 'pedant' in *Twelfth Night* who 'kept school in a church', 'most villainously'.[3] Like Lady Olivia's pompous steward, Alexander Aspinall may have worn yellow stockings—on occasion cross-gartered.[4] Shakespeare evidently did not love him, any more than he loved Malvolio or Holofernes. Of the Holofernes of

Whether incorrectly (as some think) readers must judge on the publication of the original which is promised at last at no distant date. The late Mr. A. H. Bullen drew my attention to this interesting trifle some eight years since.

[1] 'Though a Gift be small yet Goodwill is all' is one of a collection of Love posies made *c.* 1596 (Harl. MS. 6910; Arber, *Garner*, i. 611). Cf. *Pericles*, III. iv. 17 f.

Thaisa. My recompence is thanks and that is all,
Yet my goodwill is great though the gift small.

[2] Council Book B, p. 8. Thomas Barker was bailiff, and he was supported by 14 of the 17 councillors present (including Adrian Quyny and William Parsons; Richard Quyny and Abraham Sturley were absent, probably out of town).

[3] iii. 2. 80 f. [4] *Ib.* 77–9.

Scripture it was 'declared through the whole 'earth, that thou only art excellent and of a 'wonderful knowledge'.[1] The impersonation of Judas Maccabaeus by the conceited Dominy is hardly less droll than that of Alexander by the insipid curate. 'The schoolmaster is exceeding fantastical, too too vain;'[2] and the curate is 'a foolish mild man—an honest man, look you, and soon dashed; a marvellous good neighbour, 'faith, and a very good bowler; but for Alisander, 'alas, a little over-parted'.[3] They are the Owl and the Cuckoo at the close.[4]

§ 16. *Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1590–3*

Gallant fiction and obscurity are the life and breath of the Elizabethan Sonnet; and Shakespeare in his *Sonnets*, being a dramatist as well as a 'sonneter', almost completely hides himself. They are, indeed, a revelation—of rare poetic sensibility and psychological insight, of a highly-wrought temper, vibrating yet strong, plaintive and sore at times yet sane, burdened and yet gay; and of an eloquence, a command and wealth of expression, although at its beginning, beyond that of any contemporary, more varied and delicate than Marlowe's and not behind his in force. But the Poet himself eludes us. We are on the

[1] Judith, xi. 8.
[2] *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 531 f.
[3] *Ib.* 584–8.
[4] *Ib.* 901–39.

borderland perpetually of fact and fiction. We lose sight of the man, Richard Quyny's friend, Anne Hathaway's husband, even the Earl of Southampton's follower, in the realms, lofty and low, of his teeming conception.

Nevertheless, in his flight he leaves a faint trail of autobiography behind, and when he comes to earth it is the Court or Shoreditch, or a town visited on tour, such as Bath, or his beloved Stratford.

The *Sonnets*, as published by Thorpe in 1609, from a copy supplied apparently by 'Mr. W. H(all)',[1] are early and private effusions, known until 1598, as Meres says, among the Poet's 'private 'friends', and contemporary in their origin with the one play in which he made genuine use of the Sonnet, *Love's Labour's Lost*.[2]

They fall into three easily recognized and independent groups, divided sharply by the Envoy Poems, nos. 26 and 126. The latter poem is not a sonnet. It has twelve lines and surely never had more. It is a tail-piece; and the printer's marks after it, in the Quarto of 1609,

[1] The wording of the impudent dedication ill disguises the name of the 'begetter' or appropriator of the manuscript:

MR. W. H.ALL. HAPPINESSE

For 'only begetter' see St. John i. 14.

[2] The Sonnet form is employed in *Romeo and Juliet* for the Prologue, and an exquisite love-passage, I. v. 95–108; in *Henry the Fifth* for the Epilogue; and in *All's Well* for Helen's letter to the Countess, III. iv. 4–17.

probably do not signify the omission of lost lines, but represent flourishes of the copyist's pen at the conclusion of the century, 27–126.

The three groups, then, are 1–26, 27–126, and 127–54.

The last is a *Miscellany* of sonnets, apparently *juvenilia*, experimental pieces. One is didactic,[1] two are allegorical,[2] two give versions of an epigram by Marianus applied to the waters at Bath.[3] The rest are addressed, in imagination or otherwise, to women. Most are uncomplimentary in their compliment, all are dramatic and elusive.

Romance is far to seek. The poet's 'mistress', whatever her professed inconsistencies, proves, on examination, an impossible amalgam of qualities. She is a gentlewoman ('my Music', 'thy sweet 'fingers', 'the tender inward of thy hand', 'give me thy lips to kiss',[4] 'gentle cheater', 'thy sweet self'[5]) and a sluttish harlot ('where 'all men ride', 'so foul a face', 'false plague',[6] 'I love what others do abhor',[7]

> Nor are mine ears with thy tongue's tune delighted,
> Nor tender feeling to base touches prone,
> Nor taste nor *smell* desire to be invited
> To any sensual feast with thee alone[8]);

[1] 129. [2] 144, 146. [3] 153 f.
[4] 128. [5] 151.
[6] 137. [7] 150. [8] 141

graceful (' born fair ', ' so becoming, every tongue ' says Beauty should look so ',[1] ' thy fingers ' walk with gentle gait ',[2] ' her pretty looks ' and glancing eye [3]) and ungainly (' my mistress ' when she walks treads on the ground ', than her speech ' music hath a far more pleasing sound ',[4] ' thy face hath not the power to make love groan ',[5] ' mine eyes in thee a thousand errors note ',[6] ' black as Hell ',[7] ' eyes well-seeing thy foul ' faults find ',[8] ' I have sworn thee fair: more ' perjured I to swear so foul a lie ' [9]); pitiful (' lips ' that Love's own hand did make breath'd forth ' *I hate*, but when she saw my woful state, straight ' in her heart did mercy come and saved my life, ' saying *not you* ' [10]) and of a fixed contempt and hatred (' thou art tyrannous ',[11] ' thy heart ' torments me with disdain ',[12] ' thou art cruel ', ' my pity-wanting pain ',[13] ' O cruel! hate on ',[14] ' thou shouldst not abhor my state ' [15]).

We detect, indeed, half a dozen ' ladies '—of the Court and of the tavern (possibly of the kitchen). All of them, it may be, are ' black ' (the tender term ' dark ' does not occur) in feature or character, but they differ hopelessly in culture, station, disposition, and bearing towards the

[1] 127. [2] 128. [3] 139. [4] 130.
[5] 131. [6] 141. [7] 147. [8] 148.
[9] 152. [10] 145. [11] 131. [12] 132.
[13] 140. [14] 149. [15] 150.

writer. Let who will find infidelity in such creations; Anne Hathaway, we will hope, had more sense.[1]

The first group (1–26) is different. It is a carefully constructed sequence of *Twenty-Five Sonnets and an Envoy*, addressed to a handsome young gentleman of worship, 'a tender churl'; urging him, in the conventional fashion of Wilson (after Erasmus) in *The Art of Rhetoric*,[2] to marry, to multiply himself in his offspring, to hand on his beauty to them, to remember his father's house. Who was this but the young Earl of Southampton to whom Shakespeare subsequently dedicated *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*? He was sixteen on 6 October 1589. He was offered the hand of Lady Elizabeth Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford and granddaughter of the great Lord Treasurer Burghley. Disinclined to the match, the youth was allowed until 6 October 1590 to make up his mind. Shakespeare joins the young Earl's friends, perhaps at their request, in a plea which proves vain. He speaks like a father, happy in marriage with children of his own,[3] and is unmistakably a favourite with the addressed.[4] In the latter

[1] Shakespeare was not less large for being sometimes a little frivolous.

[2] *An Epistle to Persuade a Young Gentleman to Marriage.* Mair, pp. 39–63.

[3] Sonnets 2, 8 f., 13, 16.

[4] 10 ('for love of me'), 13.

half of the series he changes the theme to the triumph of Friendship and Poetry over Time.[1] He writes of himself—he is a player,[2] a poet of a pupil-pen,[3] out of favour with the stars,[4] yet confident of giving his patron immortality in his verse.[5] Sonnet 26 is a dedication of the series, which he sends in manuscript, deferentially and affectionately asking its acceptance.

The second and great group (27–126) is also a sequence, *A Century of Sonnets*, addressed to the same young nobleman ('Adonis', 'beauteous and lovely youth'[6]), but in finer, more intimate terms, recounting to him, as in a daily epistle in verse, his thoughts and sentiments in absence. Again the theme is Time—growing up and growing old, temptation and disillusion, suffering, joy, and wisdom—and Love victorious over all. The Poet locks up his chest[7] (in London), sets out on tour,[8] rides 'large lengths of miles',[9] is 'tanned' and 'wrinkled'[10] (his complexion has probably suffered more from 'make-up' than from age

[1] 14 f., 18–25. [2] 15, 23. [3] 16.
[4] 25. [5] 19.

[6] Sonnets 53 f. He was still young for his years and girlish in appearance, though manly enough in his pursuits and sports, in 1592. He is described when at Oxford with the Queen in September: *quo non formosior alter affuit, ora licet tenera vix-dum lanugine vernent* (*Elizabethan Oxford*, Plummer, p. 294). Cf. 'The tender spring upon thy tempting lip', *Venus and Adonis*, 127. Adonis is a portrait of the youthful Earl.

[7] 48. [8] 50. [9] 44. [10] 62 f.

or weather), performs before country audiences ('a motley to the view'[1]), retires travel-tired to bed at his inn,[2] lies awake with visions of his Friend,[3] is up betimes to welcome the sunrise.[4] The thought of his Friend, young, rich, handsome, gifted, and good (notwithstanding his faults) as he is fair, comforts him.[5] His lot is a hard one, as a player despised for his calling,[6] and as a writer looked down upon by University scholars,[7] bearing on his brow the vulgar scandal[8] of Robert Greene's attack in *A Groatsworth of Wit* (September 1592)[9] and outrivalled, even in his patron's eyes, by the fame of Marlowe, with his 'golden quill',[10] his 'style admired every-

[1] 110. [2] 109, 27. [3] 27 f., 43, 61. [4] 33.
[5] 37, 70, 112. [6] 29, 63, 111. [7] 78.
[8] 90, 112.

[9] Greene wrote, 'There is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank-verse as the best of you, and being an absolute *Johannes Factotum*, is in his own conceit the only Shakescene in a country'. Shakespeare obviously refers to this in Sonnet 112:

> Your love and pity doth the impression fill
> Which vulgar scandal stamped upon my brow;
> For what care I who calls me well or ill
> So you *o'er-green* my bad?

'O'er-Greene' is a rejoinder to 'Shakescene'. Greene's *Shakescene*, Shakespeare's *O'er-Greene*, and Thorpe's *Master W. H.all* are of one family and intentionally disclose more than they conceal.

[10] 85.

'where',[1] and 'the proud full sail of his great 'verse',[2] 'by spirits taught to write above a 'mortal pitch'[3] (language that only and splendidly befits the author of *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus*). With his Friend's continued regard, however, he will overcome misfortune,[4] and repay him with an everlasting reputation.[5] Not that his Friend does not disappoint him. He is too much of a child sometimes, wanton like a kid,[6] impressionable and carried away,[7] forgetful of his poet and even disloyal.[8] He has justly his critics,[9] as unjustly his defamers.[10] Envy will not spare him.[11] But let it not dishearten him:

> So thou be good slander doth but approve
> Thy worth the greater. . . . .
> And thou present'st a pure unstained prime;
> Thou hast pass'd by the ambush of young days,

[1] 84. [2] 86. [3] *Ib.* [4] 29, 112.
[5] 55, 63, 81. [6] 95 f. [7] 94.

[8] Undue emphasis must not be laid on the *amour* (if it can be called such) in Sonnets 40–2. The wooing of the young Earl by a professed admirer of the Poet, whatever its nature, was only a 'pretty wrong that liberty commits' and evidently more akin to comedy than to tragedy. The 'sensual fault', again, of Sonnet 35 had nothing to do with the offence in 40–2, nor was it sexual. 'Sensual' is antithetic to Sense (Reason), and appears to mean stubborn or mulish; and the 'sensual fault' seems to be a touch of obstinate snobbery on the Earl's part in disregarding his socially inferior, poor player-poet. Cf. Sonnets 33–6, 87 ff.

[9] 95. [10] 69 f., 96. [11] 70.

> Either not assail'd or victor being charged;
> Yet this thy praise cannot be so thy praise
> To tie up Envy evermore enlarged.[1]

Here is high praise; and it is borne out by everything we know of the Earl of Southampton's youth.[2]

Shakespeare encourages him by his own example. He has suffered from his follies [3] and from slander.[4] Men have not understood his 'sportive blood'.[5] But he has come through the better for the experience:

> *I am that I am*, and they that level
> At my abuses reckon up their own.[6]

All this belongs to the summer and autumn of 1592, when the Earl, 'the child of State',[7] followed the Queen in her memorable progress in the West of England, from Nonsuch to Reading, and thence to Cirencester and the Cotswolds, from Sudeley Castle to Woodstock and Oxford, and home by Rycot and Chenies to Hampton Court; and Shakespeare, after his tour

[1] 70. For Envy, see Revelation xx. 3, 7.

[2] Sir Sidney Lee makes serious charges against him (*Life*, 143, 222, 659, 667, 693), but does not substantiate them. Nashe's indecent poem to 'the Lord S—' was not to the Earl of Southampton but to the 'fairest bud the Red Rose ever bore', i. e. the Lord Strange.

[3] 119.

[4] 121. Shakespeare's *Apologia pro Vita sua.*

[5] *Ib.*

[6] *Ib.* See Exodus iii. 13 f.

[7] 124.

through Bath (where he may have written Sonnets 153 and 154) and Gloucester to Coventry,[1] devoted his precious vacation to his Muse. He wrote,

> Three beauteous springs to yellow autumn turn'd
> In process of the seasons have I seen
> Since first I saw you fresh which yet art green ; [2]

and again,

> this time remov'd was summer's time,
> The teeming autumn big with rich increase.[3]

We thus find Shakespeare in Richard Quyny's neighbourhood at the time of his election as Bailiff of Stratford with William Parsons as Head Alderman, September 1592.[4]

Before the 8th December [5] he was in London, and had remonstrated with Henry Chettle for his publication of the offending paragraph in the *Groatsworth of Wit*. The Earl of Southampton had evidently, among others, expressed his displeasure. With the result that Chettle handsomely apologized: 'I am as sorry as if the 'original fault had been my fault, because myself 'have seen his' (Shakespeare's) 'demeanour [to 'be] no less civil than he [is] excellent in the

[1] *English Dramatic Companies*, ii. 203, 284, 240.
[2] 104. The springs of 1590, 1591, and 1592. [3] 97.
[4] P. 59.
[5] Chettle entered *Kind Heart's Dream* at Stationers' Hall on that date. Arber, ii. 623.

'quality' (the art of a player) 'he professes; 'besides, divers of worship have reported his 'uprightness of dealing which argues his honesty, 'and his facetious grace in writing that approves 'his art'.[1] This commendation confirms the tradition received by Aubrey from the players that Shakespeare was not a 'company-keeper' and would not be 'debauched'.[2]

On the eve, perhaps, of his departure from Stratford for the metropolis, Shakespeare wrote his fine Marriage-Sonnet (116),

> Let me not to the marriage of true minds
> Admit impediment.

His wedding-day was the 28 November (or thereabout), the tenth anniversary of his marriage with Anne Hathaway. It is the greatest and most convincing of his sonnets, with the possible exceptions of his *Apologia* (121), and the splendid Peace Sonnet (107) which celebrates, like Peele's *Descensus Astraeae* (on 29 October 1591)[3] 'this

[1] *Kind Heart's Dream, Containing Five Apparitions with their Invectives against Abuses Reigning* (Preface to the Gentle Readers).

[2] Lives MS., *Catalogue of the Shakespeare Exhibition in the Bodleian Library*, 1916, p. 94 f.

[3] O happy times,
That do beget such calm and quiet days! . . .
Long may she live, long may she govern us
In peace triumphant, fortunate in wars, . . .
Sweet Cynthia's darling!

most balmy time' following the shock of the Armada.[1]

From Sonnets 77 (the Half-Way Sonnet) and 122 we gather that Shakespeare wrote his *Century* in a note-book which had been given to him by the Earl, and that he presented the same to the giver, with some leaves in it still blank, inviting him to fill them with his own contributions. Possibly this literary treasure, which indeed deserved a recompence, accompanied the usual Court gifts at Christmas and New Year 1592–3.

§ 17. *Shakespeare's Early Sympathies with Anglo-Catholicism*

Shakespeare was rejoicing in the freedom of the new life and culture which now flowed in on him, and in the reaction, which immediately succeeded the defeat of the Armada, from Puritanism to Anglo-Catholicism. He followed the Queen and Richard Hooker,[2] and the younger

[1] There is nothing in this Sonnet to suggest the *death* of Elizabeth. 'The Mortal Moon hath her eclipse *endured*,' i. e. survived. The language 'my love looks fresh', however permissible in the case of a youth, would be ridiculous in the case of a man of thirty (as the Earl would be in 1603).

[2] Study of patristic and medieval literature made Hooker sympathetic towards the Catholics. He ventured to say, in the face of a hostile audience in the Temple Church, that the Church of Rome was 'a true Church of Christ', and that he

men at Whitehall and Greenwich who were not afraid of the Pope nor of old 'Romish' practices. Politically and ethically he was his father's son; but in matters of worship his heart was elsewhere, with his mother, perhaps, and his old schoolmaster, Simon Hunt, who had left Protestantism for the Catholic Church.[1] Travelling through England with the players he had witnessed with pain the ruined abbeys. How much is expressed in a line like this:

> Bare ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang.[2]

In an early play, perhaps his earliest, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, written about 1590, his imagination wandered freely and fearlessly into the not long past, before the savage destruction of monasteries and burning of martyrs, when Englishmen were of one Church, and godly 'fathers' heard confession, sang *requiem*, offered prayers for others' sins, and did penance for their own, in lonely cells and forest retreats; when

would not hesitate to assure the Pope, 'acknowledging Christ to be the Saviour of the world', that he 'held Christ, though but by the hem of his garment'. Travers, the Reader at the Temple, declared that such sentiments had not been heard in public places since Queen Mary's days. (*Hooker's Works*, ii. 663, 669. Clarendon Press.)

[1] J. H. Pollen, S. J., *The Month*, Oct., Nov. 1917.

[2] Sonnet lxxiii. 4. One of the *Century* (xxvii–cxxvi) addressed to the Earl of Southampton, probably in 1592: see pp. 69–75.

lovers sought their help in trouble and knights took solemn vows of chastity. Such 'popery', however alarming to John Shakespeare, had no terrors for his son. Rather it supplied him with what was lacking in sermons and metrical psalms, whitewashed walls, and the evangelical strictness of Richard Woodward and Abraham Sturley. In a Catholic environment he set his heroine, his first ideal English maiden, a mere sketch, but full of charm, dear to us in the song to her praise:

> Who is Silvia? what is she
> That all our swains commend her?
> Holy, fair and wise is she:
> The Heaven such grace did lend her
> That she might admired be.[1]

Here indeed (and Shakespeare never threw off the Calvinist)[2] is the Protestant doctrine of *grace*; but Silvia's holiness is of the old devout, naïve kind, examples of which might be found in wealthy and cultivated homes in 1590, none the less sincere and winsome because of its brave endurance of persecution. Save for Turks, Jews, and Jesuits the poet was for toleration. In a sonnet, probably addressed in 1592 to the young Earl of Southampton, whose father had

[1] IV. ii. 39 ff.

[2] Far from it. Calvinistic doctrine is prominent in the later and greater tragedies, especially *Othello* and *Lear*.

suffered for his Catholic convictions, he wrote of his own love:

> It suffers not in smiling pomp, nor falls
> Under the blow of thralléd discontent,
> Whereto the inviting Time our fashion calls:
> It fears not policy (that heretic)
> Which works on leases of short numbered hours,
> But all alone stands hugely politic
> That it nor grows with heat nor drowns with showers.
> To this I witness call the fools of Time,
> Which die for goodness who have lived for crime.[1]

§ 18. *John Shakespeare's Presentation for Recusancy, 1592*

Fifteen-ninety-two was the year of John Shakespeare's known recusancy. The deaths of the two powerful Earls who protected the presbyterians in the Midlands, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in September 1588, and his brother, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in February

[1] Sonnet cxxiv. See pp. 69 ff. 'Thralled discontent' is honest dissatisfaction restrained and coerced by authority, to which the moment irresistibly calls the best ('our fashion'), whether Catholic or Protestant. Honest religious conviction is not heresy. Only Machiavellian policy is that, which takes no account of life to come. Love is vastly politic in that it is not affected by the seasons. Evidence of this is furnished by those dupes of Time who think they will be saved by dying for a good cause (as the Jesuit martyrs imagine) after a life of treason. Observe the lawyer's hoof in 'leases' and 'witness'.

Seminary priests were executed in Gray's Inn Fields and at Tyburn, seven in all, on 10 December 1591, and an eighth in St. Paul's Churchyard on 20 February 1592 (Stow, *Summarie*, 1604, p. 391 f.).

1590, led to active prosecution of nonconformists, Protestant and Catholic. Thomas Cartwright, the champion of English presbyterianism, as master of the Leicester Hospital in Warwick since 1585, had been free of episcopal interference; and with £50 a year from the Earl of Leicester, a handsome residence, and a host of wealthy supporters in the county he came under the lash of the Anti-Martinist *Pasquil*, who called him 'a brave purchaser'.[1] According to this satirist he might have been seen mounted on his gelding, with his wife behind him, riding through the Warwickshire lanes from house to house, to feast among the gentlemen of the shire and return at the week's end to preach on a full stomach.[2] He preached in many places besides Warwick—at Stratford in 1586, when he was accompanied by Master Job Throgmorton of Haseley (the 'Martinist'), and after his sermon presented by William Tyler as Bailiff, on behalf of the Corporation, with a gift of wine.[3] His discourses were 'much in derogation of the 'polity, laws, and liturgy of the realm' and in 'justification of a presbyterian government'. He was translator into English of Travers's *Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, recommending presbyterianism, and

[1] McKerrow, *Works of Thomas Nashe*, i. 99. [2] *Ib.*, p. 122 f.

[3] Chamberlains' Accompt, [13] January 1587: 'Paid for wine given to Master Job Throgmorton and Master Cartwright iij^{s}. Paid for sugar ix'.' (Council Book A, p. 275.)

organizer in Warwick and other towns of 'classes and synods'. He was charged also with expressing approval of 'Martin Marprelate', saying that as the Bishops 'would not amend by grave books it 'was meet they should be dealt with to their 'reproach and shame'.[1] When the Bishop of Worcester (Edmund Freake) suspended him he continued to preach, to the satisfaction of the older Protestants—clerics like Leonard Featherstone, vicar of St. Mary's, Warwick; Humfrey Fenn, vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry; Edward Lord, vicar of Woolston; Thomas Bracebridge, vicar of Banbury; and John Rogers, vicar of Byfield[2] (later vicar of St. Nicholas, Warwick, then vicar of Stratford, in which capacity he officiated at Shakespeare's funeral); and laymen such as Henry Higford of Solihull, John and Thomas Greene and Barnaby Holbage of Warwick, and no doubt, John Shakespeare, John Wheeler and Nicholas Barnhurst of Stratford.

But 'the good Earl' Ambrose was hardly in his grave in St. Mary's[3] before Archbishop Whitgift, smarting under the satire of 'Martin Marprelate', turned upon his old rival and enemy. Cartwright was sent to prison. A commission

[1] Articles objected against him at St. Paul's, London, 1 Sept. 1590 (Fuller, *Church History*, iii. 9. 27).

[2] *Pasquil and Marforius*, McKerrow, i. 99.

[3] 9 April 1590. His body was brought to Warwick from London.

was appointed to inquire in Warwickshire (as elsewhere) after those who befriended priests, were devoted to the Pope or the King of Spain, or refused to attend their parish church. The returns from Stratford in the spring of 1592 included three Catholic gentlemen suspected of relieving priests, Squire Clopton and his wife, Thomas Reynolds and his wife, and eleven other Romanists who paid their fines monthly in lieu of coming to worship. Besides these were six persons excused attendance on the ground of 'impotency', four declared 'excommunicate', and nine suspected of absenting themselves 'for fear of process'. Among the nine were John Shakespeare, John Wheeler, John Wheeler junior, Nicholas Barnhurst, George Bardolf, Thomas Jones, and William Baynton.[1] The report to the Privy Council by the commissioners on 25 September was more cautious in its wording. It had the 'names of such as *are thought* to forbear the 'church for debt', and '*it is said* that these 'last nine come not to church for fear of process 'for debt'.[2] Evidently friendly churchwardens made the presentment and friendly Justices (including Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Fulke Greville

[1] Recusancy Returns at Warwick Castle. Thomas Jones ('James') *alias* Giles, coppersmith, was fellow-surety with John Shakespeare in 1586 on behalf of Michael Price at Coventry, when both lost their money, £10 each. See p. 102, note 3.

[2] *State Papers Dom., Eliz.* ccxliii. 76.

and other advanced Protestants) reported it. Against Bardolf, indeed, a *capias* had been issued from the Court of Record for a debt to John Smith, vintner, in September, but it was harmless, George Badger being his surety.[1] Bardolf disappears from the town about this time. He had been a good Chamberlain,[2] but like his namesake among Falstaff's satellites he may have grown a red nose. John Shakespeare, however, had nothing to fear from the Serjeant at the Mace. Heavier penalties may have hung over him from the days of 'Monsieur',[3] but whatever ground he may have had to beware of 'Whitgift's myrmidons'[4] he had no reason to be on his guard among his neighbours. Twice in 1592, we know, he acted in an honourable public capacity—on 24 July when he helped to make the inventory of the goods of Rafe Shaw the wooldriver in Chapel Street, two doors from New Place;[5] and on 21 August, when he assisted to appraise the belongings of Henry Field,[6] father of Richard Field—for whose press the following spring William Shakespeare prepared *Venus and Adonis*.

[1] Proceedings, i. 263. [2] See his careful Accompt, Jan. 1586.

[3] He was fined £40 in the King's Bench in June 1580 for non-appearance with sufficient sureties for good behaviour and keeping of the Queen's Peace. Coram Rege Roll, Trinity Term, 22 Elizabeth.

[4] Milton, *Reformation touching Church Discipline*.

[5] Misc. Doc. vii. 142. See above, p. 62. [6] *Ib.* i. 3.

§ 19. *Richard Quyny and Master Edward Greville of Milcote*

Another trouble in Stratford arose from the death of the Earl of Warwick. The lordship of the manor passed from his family to Edward Greville of Milcote, the rapacious son of the crazy Lodovick Greville, who was pressed to death for the murder of a tenant and other crimes in November 1589.[1] Edward Greville asserted his rights as a landowner to the utmost and his claims upon the Corporation were often vexatious and preposterous. The formal assent of the lord of the manor to the Bailiff elect,[2] which had never been withheld, so far as the records show, since the grant of the Charter in 1553, was refused by Edward Greville in the case of Richard Quyny in the autumn of 1592. Quyny rode over to Beauchamp's Court, near Alcester, the residence of Edward Greville's kinsman (a very different man), Sir Fulke Greville, to have his opinion as Recorder of Stratford. The result was a letter of friendly remonstrance from Sir Fulke to his cousin, dated 5 October.[3] It is pleasant reading as from the father of him who

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, 3 July 1589, 22 Feb. 1590.

[2] The Bailiff, as distinct from a Mayor, was still, in theory, a servant of the Lord of the Manor.

[3] Saunders, MS. Collection relating to the Quyny Family, f. 100.

called himself 'Friend of Sir Philip Sidney' on behalf of a friend of William Shakespeare. 'I 'understand', he wrote, 'that Richard Quyny of 'Stratford, being by the Burgesses there elected 'to be their Bailiff for the year following, is 'notwithstanding denied your consent and good 'liking therein, though they have desired it. If 'the cause of your refusal be for any want of 'parts beseeming that place in the man himself, 'he is desirous to satisfy in all objections; but 'if it be in regard of any power you claim against 'their election, yet I would desire this much of 'you: that at my request you will suspend the 'taking of that advantage for this year. And 'before the next choice shall be made I doubt 'not but this question shall be quietly settled 'between you, since they are contented to yield 'you whatsoever is yours in this behalf by the 'judgment of lawyers, or any other neighbourly 'examination of the matter as you shall think 'good.' The letter had the desired effect, and on Friday, 13 October, Richard Quyny was sworn in his office.[1] On the Tuesday previous he buried at Alveston,[2] on the other side of the Avon, his two-year-old child, of whom, as I have supposed,

[1] Council Book A, p. 342.

[2] Alveston Register: 'Bur. 10 Oct. William Quynie s. Richard Quynie.'

Shakespeare was godfather. If, as is probable, the poet was still at home, writing sonnets and preparing for the Christmas season in London, we can hardly doubt that he accompanied his friend the Bailiff to the child's burial.

§ 20. *Richard Quyny as Bailiff, 1592–3.*

One of the first acts of the new bailiwick was the appointment of a committee (of which Nicholas Barnhurst was one—the recusant alleged to be in fear of arrest!) to discover and notify the presence, with a view to their removal from the borough, of undesirable women;[1] and this was followed before Christmas by a stringent order with regard to gambling and drinking.[2] On 14 February 1593 it was decided to make a survey of the corporation property. The minute, which is in the Bailiff's own hand, runs: 'For the viewing of our houses and other lands 'were appointed to accompany me and Master 'Alderman' (William Parsons), 'Master Plymley, 'Master Hill, Master Barber, Master Barnhurst' (notwithstanding his alleged dread of the Serjeant!), 'Master Wilson, Master Rogers, Master 'Henry Wilson, Abraham Sturley, George Badger, 'John Sadler, upon Friday in the Easter week',[3]

[1] Council Book A, p. 341 (11 Oct.).
[2] *Ib.*, p. 343 (8 Dec.).
[3] *Ib.*, p. 345.

i. e. the 20 April. If Nicholas Barnhurst at this time refused to go to church, he did not fail to attend the meetings of the Council nor to perform important public duties. On 28 June he was chief appraiser of the goods of Alderman George Whateley,[1] whose funeral was doubtless attended by the Council the previous day.[2]

One of the last acts of Richard Quyny's bailiwick was a stern resolution on 19 September that 'if any of the Aldermen or Burgesses shall at any 'time hereafter disclose or utter any speeches 'that shall be used by any man in the Council 'Chamber concerning the government of this 'town, shall not only be expelled out of the 'Company but also shall forfeit to the Chamber 'every Alderman £10 and every Burgess £5: 'unless the speeches be used to some of the 'Company'. To this order are attached the signatures of nearly the whole company, including the Bailiff and his father, William Parsons, Richard Hill, Nicholas Barnhurst, Thomas Barber, and Thomas Rogers.[3] Abraham Sturley was not present; but that he was not an offender under the displeasure of the Council, we may conclude from the fact that he and Richard Quyny were deputed on 31 October to ride to London to

[1] Inventory at Worcester: 1593, no. 85.

[2] *Register*, p. 51.

[3] Council Book A, p. 350.

procure a warrant from the Lord Treasurer Burghley for the repair of the chancel of the parish church.[1] This warrant was to compel the farmers of the tithes and the parishioners to keep the edifice in order.

§ 21. *The Death of Richard Hill*

That day Alderman Richard Hill made his last recorded attendance at the Council. He died in December. In his will, witnessed by Abraham Sturley, and probably drawn up by him, on 16 May 1590, he declared: 'First and chiefly 'I yield and commit my soul unto Almighty God 'my Maker and most merciful Father, in Our 'Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, my most gracious 'Redeemer, trusting by His means and merits 'only to obtain everlasting salvation, thorough 'the eternal comfort of the Holy Ghost. And 'next my body to be buried in the parish church 'at the discretion of my executor.'[2] His executor and residuary legatee was Sturley, and his 'well 'beloved friends and neighbours, Master Richard 'Woodward and Master William Parsons', and a third were appointed overseers. He was buried in the church on 17 December 1593,[3] John

[1] Council Book A, p. 353.
[2] P. C. C. 11 Dixy.
[3] *Register*, p. 51.

Bramhall being vicar, a witness to his will, and doubtless officiating. His monument on the west wall of the south transept contains inscriptions in English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Sturley, we may believe, was responsible for one or more of them, perhaps for the rhyming hexameters :

> Hic nutritus erat, natus, nunc hic jacet Hillus,
> Hicque magistratus fama ter munere functus,
> Cumque bonos annos vixisset septuaginta,
> Ad terram corpus, sed mens migravit ad astra.

More interesting are rude verses by an old apprentice, who did not want feeling if he lacked the art of poesy :

> Here lieth entombed the corpse of Richard Hill,
> A woollen-draper being in his time ;
> Whose virtues live, whose fame doth flourish still,
> Though he dissolved be to dust and slime.
> A mirror he and pattern may be made
> For such as shall succeed him in that trade.
> He did not use to swear, to gloss or feign,
> His brother to defraud in bargaining.
> He would not strive to get excessive gain
> In any cloth or other kind of thing.
> His servant I this truth can testify,
> A witness that beheld it with my eye

Was the writer William Parsons ? If so, the apprentice hardly attained to his master's reputation for handsome dealing.[1]

[1] P. 135 f.

§ 22. *The Wet Summer and the Great Fire of 1594*

Richard Quyny was still engaged on the matter of the chancel repairs in June 1594. An item of expense in his account is, 'Mine own and horse charges four days x^{s}.'[1] It was a very wet month 'and wonderful cold, like winter'.[2] 'It commonly rained day and night till St. James' Eve'[3]—24 July. It was the unseasonable summer which probably left its mark on *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*:

> the winds have sucked up from the sea
> Contagious fogs, which, falling in the land,
> Hath every pelting river made so proud
> That they have overborne their continents:
> The ox hath therefore stretched his yoke in vain,
> The ploughman lost his sweat, and the green corn
> Hath rotted ere his youth attained a beard.[4]

On 7 September Quyny was elected Head Alderman and deputy to the Bailiff (his third term of office), Thomas Barber.[5] Immediately afterwards the town suffered severely from fire, and on 24 September leading members of the Council were dispatched into the surrounding shires to collect money for the victims. Such benevolence

[1] Misc. Doc. i. 134.

[2] Simon Forman, Diary. Quoted by Halliwell, *Mid. N. Dream*, p. 6.

[3] Stow, *Summarie*, p. 399.

[4] II. i. 89–95.

[5] Council Book B, p. 4.

was a recognized form of insurance. Quyny was sent into Northamptonshire, William Parsons into Gloucestershire, and Abraham Sturley (who was now an Alderman in the room of his late father-in-law, Richard Hill) into the counties of Derby and Leicester. A new member of the Council (elected a Burgess on or before 26 July this year), Daniel Baker, a nephew of Richard Quyny or of his wife and a member of the 'Brotherhood', to whose children the Quynys and Sturley had apparently stood sponsors,[1] was sent into Berkshire. The Bailiff himself undertook Worcestershire.[2] Results were reported on 25 October, from which we learn that Alderman William Wilson with the help of a young Burgess, William Wyatt, acted for the Bailiff, and Burgess Francis Smith (the able son of Shakespeare's probable godfather, William Smith the haberdasher) for Daniel Baker. Richard Quyny raised much the largest sum (with the assistance of John Sadler), extending his labours into Oxfordshire and a part of Gloucestershire. His heavy costs (£22), nearly half of the amount collected (£46), indicate the time and range of his efforts.[3] Most interesting is the item of receipt by him

[1] Elizabeth 20 Oct. 1588, Richard 7 June 1590, Elizabeth 11 May 1592, Abraham 10 March 1593 (*Register*, pp. 45, 48, 51, 53). [2] Council Book B, p. 5. [3] Council Book B, p. 7.

of £7 11*s*.—a large sum—in 'some of the Colleges' at Oxford. We should like to know at which of the colleges Shakespeare's friend obtained this generous response. Henry Willoughby of St. John's had just written his *Avisa*, with its playful reference to Shakespeare and his saucy poem, afterwards published in *The Passionate Pilgrim*.[1] *Avisa* was entered at Stationers' Hall

[1] 'W. S.', an 'old player' and his 'familiar friend', who 'not long before had tried the courtesy of the like passion and was now newly recovered', greets 'H. W.'

Well met, friend Harry; what 's the cause
You look so pale with Lenten cheeks?
Your wanny face and sharpened nose
Show plain your mind something mislikes;
If you will tell me what it is,
I'll help to mend what is amiss.

'H. W.' confesses his love, and 'W. S.' encourages him:

Apply her still with divers things—
For gifts the wisest will deceive—
Sometimes with gold, sometimes with rings,
No time nor fit occasion leave:
Though coy at first she seem and will'd,
These toys in time will make her yield.

Shakespeare had written, in the manner of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*,—

And to her will frame all thy ways;
Spare not to spend, and chiefly there
Where thy desert may merit praise
By ringing in thy lady's ear:
The strongest castle, tower and town
The golden bullet beats it down.
(*The Passionate Pilgrim*, xix. 1599).

on 3 September;[1] and Hadrian Dorrell, the friend and 'chamber-fellow' of the author at Oxford, wrote a preface for it on 1 October.[2] The following January 1595, the eldest son of Alderman Sturley matriculated at Oxford from Exeter College.[3] This was Henry Sturley, born at Bedwardine, now in his eighteenth year.

§ 23. *Master Shakespeare buys a Book in Stratford, c. 25 August 1595*

Richard Field had a sister, Margery, who married Robert Young, a Stratford dyer, on 16 October 1586.[4] Their daughter, Ursula (named after Mistress Field the grandmother), was baptized on 10 May 1587,[5] less than seven months after their wedding. Other children were born, Edward in 1588, Margaret (who soon died) in 1590, Michael in 1592.[6] Then the father died, being buried 1 March 1595,[7] and Margery Young was left a widow. Her late husband's goods were valued on 19 April for the

[1] Arber, ii. 659.

[2] *Willobie His Avisa, or The True Picture of a Modest Maid and of a Chaste and Constant Wife*, 1594.

[3] *Register of the University*, ii. 2. 208.

[4] *Register*, p. 13.

[5] *Register*, p. 43.

[6] *Register*, pp. 44, 49, 51.

[7] *Register*, p. 53.

modest sum of £11 4*s*. 9*d*.[1] They included, it is perhaps worth observing, painted cloths and 'a portal of wainscot', green and orange curtains, a spinning wheel, a chest, chairs and tables, brass pans and pots and kettles, some pieces of pewter, a chafing dish, 'a leathern jack to drink in' (a half-pint jug, like those referred to in *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV. i. 51 f.: 'Be the jacks fair within, the jills fair without'), and a pair of playing-tables. Vessels and utensils of the dyer's craft were also inventoried, such as boiling leads and a woad vat. The widow had richer possessions of her own, some of which she disposed of in June and July. On 20 July she parted with a good deal more than she bargained for to Joan Perrott, widow of William Perrott, Alderman Perrott's kinsman, who had died in Stratford in June 1594.[2] Valuable clothing went with cast-off. A month later, on 25 August, Widow Perrott sold articles which revealed what had happened,[3] and Widow Young promptly took action. The goods, which the plaintiff declared had been 'deceitfully' appropriated, comprised 'a woman's gown of sad tawny faced with velvet' 'and a velvet cape 'laid on with velvet lace', valued at £5; 'a 'woman's gown of rat's colour faced with taffety

[1] Worcester Inventories, 47 f. [2] *Register*, p. 52.
[3] Misc. Doc. vi. 170.

'and a cape of trusty taffety laid about with silk 'lace', valued at £3; 'a kirtle of broad worsted 'laid about with habiliment lace and fringe', of the value of 30*s.*; 'a petticoat of flannel with 'bodice of durance[1] and fringed about', of the value of 30*s.*; 'a cloak of rat's colour lined with 'tawny baize and faced with velvet', valued at 4 marks (53*s.* 4*d.*); two daggers, of the value of 16*s.* 8*d.*; a 'coverlet of red, black, and yellow 'colour', valued at 40*s.*; three prayer-books, of the value of 10*s.*, and 'one book', not valued, which interests us considerably. Widow Young, with Thomas Watkins as her attorney, sued Widow Perrott, whose attorney was William Court, in the Court of Record, where the defendant in her turn brought in a counter-action. About October 1596 the jury found for Widow Young assessing the damages at £5 9*s.* 4*d.* and the costs at 6*d.* Widow Perrott appealed, obtaining a writ of error at Westminster on 3 November.

Memoranda[2] of the case made about October 1596 are to the effect that Master Barber (of the *Bear*) purchased the 'coverlet of red, black, and yellow colour' (a product evidently of the dyer's

[1] Buff-coloured cloth or leather, bestowed, with a play on the word, on a prisoner by the Serjeant at the Mace in *The Comedy of Errors*, IV. iii. 27. [2] Misc. Doc. vii. 244.

art), the two daggers and the three prayer-books; and that 'Master Shakespeare' bought the 'one book' (which apparently was not a prayer-book). If Master Shakespeare was John, the old Alderman, the purchase is evidence (if we need it) that he was not illiterate; if William, the son, it is evidence of the Poet's presence in Stratford about 25 August 1595.

§ 24. *Shakespeare and his Children, 1590–5*

Evidence of Shakespeare's presence at home in the years 1583–95 is the extraordinary prominence of Child Life in his early plays and poems. There is nothing like it in contemporary drama or literature. It is one of the distinguishing marks of early Shakespearean authorship, hardly less persistent or striking than the familiarity with the Bible, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and a Town Clerk's office. Shakespeare's references to babes and twins, small boys and girls, and their moods and ways and games, are so numerous and vivid in his work of 1590–5 that we should naturally infer (if we did not already know it) that he had children and twins of his own, and conclude moreover that he was greatly taken with them. He speaks of 'a gasping new-delivered mother',[1]

[1] *Richard II*, II. ii. 65.

the mother's teat and milk [1] and children sucking ; [2] the midwife and nurse (' a long-tongued babbling gossip ',[3] probably the Nurse of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1596) ; ' two children at one birth ',[4] ' a joyful ' mother of two goodly sons ' ' not meanly proud ' of two such boys ' and ' more careful for the ' latter-born ' [5] (was Hamlet born after Judith?) ; a child's bearing-cloth [6] for christening, and ' a baby's cap ' ; [7] the ' piteous plainings of the pretty babes ' [8] (twins) ; the mother caressing her child on her bosom—

> in this hollow cradle take thy rest,
> My throbbing heart shall rock thee day and night ; [9]

' a nurse's song of lullaby to bring her babe ' asleep ',[10] a nurse's song which pleased well her babe ; [11] a tender nurse who kept chary her babe ; [12] the ' mild and gentle cradle-babe ',[13] the sweet breath of a child asleep in the cradle ; [14] kisses on the lips of a ' sweet babe ' ; [15] infants' prattle ; [16]

[1] *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 144 f. [2] 1 *Henry VI*, I. i. 49.
[3] *T. A.* IV. ii. 141, 150. [4] 2 *Henry VI*, IV. ii. 147.
[5] *Errors*, I. i. 51, 59, 79. [6] 1 *Henry VI*, I. iii. 42.
[7] *Shrew*, IV. iii. 67. [8] *Errors*, I. i. 73.
[9] *Venus and Adonis*, 1185 f.
[10] *Titus Andronicus*, II. iii. 28 f. [11] *Venus and Adonis*, 974.
[12] *Sonnets*, 22. [13] 2 *Henry VI*, III. ii. 392.
[14] *Richard II*, I. iii. 132 f. [15] 3 *Henry VI*, V. vii. 29.
[16] 1 *Henry VI*, III. i. 16.

a child crept out of the cradle ;[1] a 'childish fist',[2] a 'froward infant stilled with dandling, now 'obeys and no more resisteth',[3] a testy babe that will 'scratch the nurse and presently all humbled 'kiss the rod',[4] a 'fond and testy child who 'wayward once his mood with nought agrees' ;[5] 'a child that longs for everything that he can 'come by' ;[6] and of a mother putting down her child to chase a runaway chicken, and then pursued by the offended child.[7] These and other allusions are suggestive of 1583 to 1587, when Shakespeare's daughter, Susanna, grew to be four years old, and his twins, Judith and Hamlet, to be two years old. The following are more appropriate to 1587–95, when the Poet's visits were by necessity infrequent, and all too short and memorable : a 'father' who finds (as Shakespeare did every time he returned to Stratford) 'his children nursed to take *a new acquaintance of 'his mind*',[8] and 'feeds on his children's looks' ;[9] 'children toward',[10] children singing their rhymes,[11] frightened at a scarecrow,[12] 'unruly',

[1] 2 *Henry VI*, IV. ix. 3.
[2] *Ib.* I. i. 245.
[3] *Venus and Adonis*, 562 f.
[4] *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii. 58 f.
[5] *Lucrece*, 1094 f.
[6] *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 124 f.
[7] *Sonnets*, 143.
[8] *Sonnets*, 77.
[9] *Richard II*, II. i. 79 f.
[10] *Shrew*, v. ii. 182.
[11] *Lucrece*, 524 f.
[12] 1 *Henry VI*, I. iv. 43.

riding on their father's overladen back;[1] a child stilled by a tragic tale;[2] a child pausing in his story to sob and weep;[3] a child skipping;[4] a little changeling boy, crowned with flowers;[5] 'a pretty peat' with her finger in her eye;[6] two little girls working on one sampler, sitting on one cushion, warbling of one song;[7] a school-girl vixen;[8] a 'young budding virgin, fair and fresh and sweet';[9] a father who lives again in his child's life[10] (as in his games—'all-hid', 'more sacks to the mill', 'whipping a gig', 'push-pin', 'span-counter'),[11] is 'new-made' in his 'fair child',[12] and takes delight 'to see his active 'child do deeds of youth';[13] a 'tender boy', a 'tender sapling',[14] a boy with a penny to buy gingerbread;[15] a growing boy,[16] a 'breeching scholar',[17] 'overawed' by his master (as well he might be in the presence of Master Aspinall),

[1] *Richard II*, III. iv. 30 f. [2] *Lucrece*, 813 f.
[3] *Richard III*, I. ii. 160 ff.
[4] *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 771.
[5] *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. i. 23, 25 f.
[6] *Shrew*, I. i. 78 f.
[7] *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. ii. 202 ff.
[8] *Ib.* 324. [9] *Shrew*, IV. v. 36. [10] *Sonnets*, 17.
[11] *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. iii. 78, 81, 167, 169; v. i. 70.
2 *Henry VI*, IV. ii. 166. [12] *Sonnets*, 2.
[13] *Sonnets*, 37. [14] *Titus Andronicus*, III. ii. 48, 50.
[15] *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. i. 74 f.
[16] *Richard III*, II. iv. 7 ff. [17] *Shrew*, III. i. 18.

and willingly coming home from school ;[1] a boy trying to play on a recorder,[2] and with a woman's voice striving to speak big ;[3] and a father and child and 'happy mother',

Who all in one one pleasing note do sing.[4]

In the mouth of Queen Margaret is the cry wrung in after years from Macduff :

You have no children, butchers ![5]

In *Henry the Sixth Part Three*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Richard the Third* are boy characters of about Hamlet Shakespeare's age, who was nine years old on 2 February 1594. They are little Rutland, Young Lucius, and the Princes Edward and Richard of York. All are precocious. If Hamlet Shakespeare went to school at the usual age, he was a pupil of Master Aspinall in 1592. Little Rutland appears with his tutor and repeats a line from Ovid.[6] Young Lucius carries a copy of the *Metamorphoses*, the gift of his mother.[7] He is a spirited little fellow. He will use his dagger rather than take gifts to those who have wronged Lavinia.[8] His grandfather loved him, as his father tells him :

[1] 1 *Henry VI*, I. i. 36. *Shrew*, III. ii. 152.
[2] *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, V. i. 123.
[3] *Richard II*, III. ii. 113 f. [4] *Sonnets*, 8.
[5] 3 *Henry VI*, V. v. 63. (*Macbeth*, IV. iii. 216.)
[6] *Ib.* I. iii. 48. [7] *Titus Andronicus*, IV. i. 42 f. [8] *Ib.* 117 f.

thy grandsire loved thee well:
Many a time he danced thee on his knee,
Sung thee asleep, his loving breast thy pillow;
Many a matter hath he told to thee,
Meet and agreeing with thine infancy.[1]

It requires no stretch of the imagination to see here the old Alderman and his grandson in Henley Street.

The Princes are lively boys. Edward, the older and taller, is fired by the example of Julius Caesar,

That Julius Caesar was a famous man.[2]

Richard is pert and clever. He annoys his uncle Gloucester by mocking at his deformity. Gloucester's comment is,

'Tis a parlous boy,
Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, capable;
He is all the mother's from the top to toe.[3]

These boys, however, are shadows compared with Arthur in *King John*, which was probably Shakespeare's first work after the death of his son in August 1596.

§ 25. *Another Great Fire, 1595*

A SECOND time, after the interval of a twelvemonth, Stratford was devastated by fire—'on 'the same day, being the Lord's Day', a con-

[1] *Ib.* v. iii. 161–5. Lucius is one of the undoubted Shakespeare additions to the play.

[2] *Richard III*, III. i. 84.

[3] *Ib.* 154 ff.

temporary writer declares, 'was almost consumed, chiefly for profaning the Lord's sabbaths and for contemning His word in the mouth of His faithful ministers.' [1]

A strict, Judaical observance of Sunday was no part of the early Puritan teaching. Tyndale, the father of English Puritanism, laid stress on the hearing of 'God's word', and declared that any day was as good as another for the purpose.[2] The Protestant Sunday in England was at first as free as on the Continent. Work and trade were only forbidden at sermon time. Complaint, as by Cartwright, of other 'abuses', such as 'games in the afternoon—lying for the whetstone, heathenish dancing for the ring, a bear or a bull baited or else jackanapes riding on horseback, or an interlude, if no place else can be gotten, in the church' [4]—grew louder among

[1] Lewis Baily, *The Practice of Piety*, ed. 1699, p. 240.

[2] 'And as for the Saboth, a great matter, we be lords over the Saboth, and may yet change it into the Monday or any other day as we see need, or may make every tenth day holy day only if we see a cause why. We may make two every week if it were expedient and one not enough to teach the people. Neither was there any cause to change it from the Saturday than to put difference between us and the Jews, and lest we should become servants unto the day after their superstition. Neither needed we any holy day at all if the people might be taught without it' (Parker Soc. iii. 97 f.).

[4] See *Whitgift*, iii, p. 384 (Park. Soc.).

the godly, especially after the publication in 1593 of Nicholas Bound's *True Doctrine of the Sabbath*.[1] Apparently the vicar of Stratford, John Bromhall, was a Sabbatarian, and leaders of opinion in the borough were of his mind. A stricter policy is noticeable in the minutes of the Council.

One hundred and twenty dwelling-houses and eighty other buildings were burned in these conflagrations, in Henley Street, Bridge Street, Wood Street, High Street, Sheep Street, Chapel Street, and elsewhere. John Shakespeare's house narrowly escaped;[2] those of Adrian Quyny, Abraham Sturley, William Parsons, Hamlet Sadler, and the new Bailiff, Thomas Rogers, were partially or totally destroyed. Wood Street on the south side seems to have been burned from end to end. Twelve thousand pounds worth of goods was consumed and four hundred people were dependent on relief.

[1] *Sabbathum Veteris et Novi Testamentum or the True Doctrine of the Sabbath.*

[2] The cottage two doors above, lately occupied by his neighbour Price the tinker, for whom he stood surety and lost £10 (notwithstanding his alleged poverty!) in the Queen's Bench in 1586–7 (Controlment Roll 223, m. 44), was 'consumed with fire'. See lease of the ground to Robert Johnson, 20 March 1599. See also above, p. 81.

§ 26. *Thomas Rogers and His New House*

A DEARTH of corn aggravated the misery. Maltsters were bound over on 4 November not to make malt. A corn inquiry in December throws considerable light on the households and business of leading townsmen. We read: 'Master 'Thomas Rogers, baily of the borough, did buy 'a cart-load of barley, 30 October, and what 'more we know not, before it came into the 'market and did forestall the market; and he 'doth say that he will *justify it*, and he *careth 'not a turd for them all*, and these words being 'spoken the 28 day of November. Master Par-'sons and Master Sturley bought of Thomas 'Yeate of Broad Marston 15 weigh of barley at '20*s*. a quarter. Master Parsons and Master 'Tovey[1] bought of Nicholas Tybbots 8 lands of 'wheat, 12 lands of barley. The said Thomas 'Rogers, baily of Stratford, hath been in the 'Subsidy-book, and now he has got forth and 'payeth nothing; and Master Sturley and 'Richard Quyny and Master Badger, all these 'being great corn-buyers and buyers of wood 'and such like, and they being put forth and 'other, poor men, put in to pay for them.'

[1] John Tovey, B.A. of Oxford, Schoolmaster at Coventry. P. 130.

There was excuse at least for those whose dwellings had been burned. We read further of Rogers that he had in his house of his own 15 quarters of malt and 2 of barley, and of his son-in-law John Wilmore's 20 quarters of malt. The overseers continue: 'We are given to 'understand that besides his butcher's trade, 'which until now of late he always used, he is 'a buyer and seller of corn for great sums and 'withal useth grazing and buying and selling of 'cattle, and hath in household thirteen persons.' Of Richard Quyny they report: 'Master Richard 'Quyny useth the trades of buying and selling 'of corn for great sums and making of malt, and 'hath in his house and in his barn unthrashed '47 quarters of barley and 32 quarters of malt 'and peas 11½ quarters and of wheat 10 strikes; 'of Master Nash of Welcombe 6 quarters of malt, 'Mistress Clopton's 6 quarters of malt, and one 'Smith's, maid of Woodward, 6 quarters of malt 'and 5 of barley. We are given to understand 'that he hath bought since Midsummer of 'Leonard Bennett of Burton-upon-Stour 100 'quarters of grain, *videlicet* barley and peas: 'his barley for 3*s.* 4*d.* the strike and peas at 2*s.* 6*d.* 'the strike, for 12 months' day of payment. But 'what quantity of acres he soweth this year we 'cannot learn by reason he is now at London —'

THE HOUSE OF THOMAS ROGERS (*on right*)
Built after the Fire of 1594

Sunday 7 December 1595. 'He hath in house-'hold sixteen persons.'

Quyny was in London to obtain a second patent for a collection on behalf of the victims of the fires. He was home again, successful, on 19 December,[1] and was present at the New Year meeting of the Council on 9 January 1596,[2] when Abraham Sturley made his Accompt as Chamberlain, giving particulars suggestive of the injury done by the fires. The *Crown* Inn in Bridge Street was 'wasted', and the house of the old Flemish weaver, Thomas Deege alias Gethen, next door to Thomas Rogers's house in High Street, was, with that one, destroyed. William Court the lawyer's house in Chapel Street was 'clean burned down to the ground'.[3]

The losses, however, were more than made good. A new and handsome Stratford rose up on the ashes of the old. The Bailiff's new residence, now known as 'Harvard House', is an example of the beautiful work done. The thirteen persons of his household included his second wife, Alice (whose initials are carved with his own on the front of the new building), five sons and five daughters, and perhaps a grandchild. His daughter, Katharine, who in

[1] Council Book B, p. 19; Wheler MS., p. 134.
[2] Council Book B, p. 20 f. [3] *Ib.*, pp. 21 ff.

1605 [1] married a Southwark butcher and became the mother in November 1607 [2] of John Harvard, the founder of Harvard University, was a girl twelve years old, eighteen months younger and two months older than Shakespeare's daughters, Susanna and Judith, on 25 November 1596 [3] when the house in High Street was probably completed.

Thomas Rogers, it is worth noting, sued Richard Quyny in the Court of Record, in May or June 1596, for a debt of £3. From evidence in the case we learn that Quyny had been afield again collecting in Banbury, Coventry, and Bristol. He had borrowed the £3, it seems, to pay a debt to Henry Walker, a mercer of Stratford,[4] and a friend of William Shakespeare, to whose son in after years the Poet stood godfather and left a bequest in his will of 20*s*. Quyny's accounts, apparently, got a little mixed in these days of public service and private stress. Business was almost entirely by bonds and bills. On Rogers's insistence as Bailiff, Quyny and Sturley, whose credit had suffered in consequence of their losses by the fires, entered into a bond on 16 June 1596

[1] *Register*, p. 21 : April 8 'Robertus Harwod to Katherina Rogers'. The name is variously given.

[2] Register of St. Mary Overy.

[3] She was baptized 25 Nov. 1584 (*Register*, p. 38).

[4] Proceedings of the Court of Record.

for £40 to pay half this sum due to the Borough Council before the next Accompt Day, in January 1597.[1] Sturley was still one of the Chamberlains, though no longer the acting one.

On 17 June, when this bond was approved by the Council, the following resolution was passed with regard to Alderman Nicholas Barnhurst, the old colleague of John Shakespeare in recusancy, and of late an overseer in the somewhat delicate business of the Corn Inquiry: 'Agreed 'by all the Company now present that Nicholas 'Barnhurst, in consideration of his lewd[2] and bad 'speeches used in the Council Chamber as well 'to George Badger'—a junior Alderman—'in 'calling him *knave* and *rascal*, as in using divers 'other abuses to the rest of the Company then 'present, from henceforth shall be no longer one 'of the Aldermen but quite put out of the 'Company for ever.' Barnhurst and Badger were both present; so were Adrian and Richard Quyny, Sturley, and Daniel Baker, who had the painful duty of expelling their hot-tempered kinsman. On his apology, however, he was forgiven, and the resolution was rescinded.[3]

[1] Misc. Doc. xii. 48. [2] Ignorant.
[3] Council Book B, p. 27

§ 27. *The Death of Hamlet Shakespeare*

In August this year the Shakespeare household in Henley Street was plunged in grief by the death of the Poet's son. We read in the register:

August 11. Hamnet filius William Shakspere.[1]

Shakespeare's company performed at Faversham in Kent 'about Lammas', the 1 August,[2] and he may not have been at home when his boy died.[3] But that he was in Stratford immediately afterwards is a natural inference from the lines in *King John*—so much more befitting Anne Hathaway than the character of Constance (whose son though a prisoner was not yet dead):[4]

> Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
> Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me;
> Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words,
> Remembers me of all his gracious parts,
> Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form.[5]

[1] *Register*, p. 55. Hamlet and Hamnet are interchangeable, both, for example, occurring in the same document, Council Book A, p. 307 (3 Sept. 1589).

[2] *English Dramatic Companies*, ii. 274.

[3] Sir Sidney Lee says (*Life*, p. 281), 'It was probably in 1596 that Shakespeare returned, after nearly eleven years' absence, to his native town. . . . He was no doubt at Stratford on August 11, 1596.' The 'eleven years' absence' and the 'return' in 1596, as well as the presence of Shakespeare in Stratford on 11 August, are surely pure assumptions.

[4] It is doubtful whether such imagery would have occurred to the Poet in this connexion without recent personal bereavement.

[5] III. iv. 93–7.

Other passages seem to speak of more than Arthur :

> Dear boy,
> Of Nature's gifts thou may'st with lilies boast
> And with the half-blown rose ![1]

words that might be carved on Hamlet Shakespeare's grave (if we knew where it was) ; and, equally appropriate for such a purpose :

> Pretty Child, sleep ! doubtless and secure.[2]

§ 28. *Abraham Sturley as Bailiff*

Abraham Sturley, like Shakespeare, rose above misfortune. He was elected Bailiff on 8 September, when he attached his signature to the resolution formally appointing John Jeffreys (of Walton) Steward in succession to Henry Rogers.[3] He was sworn on 1 October, with Master Thomas Barber as Head Alderman.[4] On 19 November he welcomed Sir Thomas Lucy from Charlecote, and Master Edward Greville, from Milcote when they held the musters in Stratford.[5] Under his authority search was made in the Gild Hall for records on the evening and night of 29 November.[6] On 20 January 1597 he sent, as Bailiff, wine and sugar by the hand of his Serjeant to

[1] III. i. 51, 53 ff.

[2] 'Without doubt, without care' : IV. i. 130.

[3] Council Book B, p. 29. He had filled the office since 1586. Rogers had succeeded Higford.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 31.

[5] Chamberlains' Accompt, 21 January 1597.

[6] *Ib.*

Master Edward Greville when he was entertained at dinner at the house of Richard Quyny.[1] Outwardly, at any rate, Quyny and the lord of the manor were reconciled. A few days afterwards Sturley set out for London to obtain counsel for the prosecution of Master William Underhill, the owner of New Place, for non-payment of tithe-rent. He was absent six days.[2] This visit to London was followed by another on the same business by Richard Quyny, who returned with Master Underhill's answer and delivered the same at a meeting of the Council on 23 February.[3] Three weeks later, on Sunday 20 March, Sturley buried his son, Thomas, a boy of Hamlet Shakespeare's age, in his twelfth year.[4] There was an epidemic in Stratford, and the death-roll all winter was heavy. Among the deceased were old Mistress Wheeler, the Puritan recusant; the old weaver, Thomas Deege, burned out of his house in High Street; the Serjeant at the Mace, William Rogers; and the vicar, John Bromhall.[5] The new vicar, Richard Byfield, doubtless officiated at the burial of the Bailiff's son, in the presence of the Aldermen and Principal Burgesses,

[1] Chamberlains' Accompt, 13 January 1598. [2] *Ib.*

[3] Council Book B, p. 35.

[4] Baptized 23 October 1586 (*Register*, p. 42).

[5] *Register*, pp. 56–8. John Bromhall, who was dead before 8 January, was not buried in Stratford.

on 20 March, on which day, probably at the same time, Shakespeare's friend, Master Richard Tyler, buried his little daughter Judith, three years and four months old. Strange to say the disinherited mother's younger brother, Fulke Woodward, died of the epidemic and was buried three days before her child, on Thursday, 17 March. Successive entries in the register run thus :

March 15 Henry filius Georgij Shingleton.
17 Fowlke filius Magistri Richard Wodward.
17 Edward Green.
17 Anne Rooke vidua.
20 Thomas filius Magistri Abram Sturley.
20 Judith filia Magistri Richard Tylar.
20 Emme filia Georgij Shingleton.[1]

§ 29. *Shakespeare Buys 'New Place'*

This spring, on 4 May, Shakespeare bought New Place of Master William Underhill. A late owner had allowed the house to fall into decay. Shakespeare paid £60 for the purchase and a further sum later for the confirmation of his title.[2] He must have spent largely on reparations. An item in the Chamberlains' Accompt made 12 January 1599—

Paid to Master Shakespeare for one load of stone x^{d} [3]—

[1] P. 58. [2] *Outlines*, ii. 102–5.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 373 f. Council Book B, p. 44 : 'pd to m^{r} shaxspere for on lod of ston x^{d}.'

is doubtless to be interpreted in the light of repairs at New Place. The load of stone was sold for work at the Bridge which occupied the Chamberlains for three weeks in the spring of 1598,[1] and the stone, we may infer, was what was left after the restoration of the Poet's house. An echo of extensive, and expensive, building operations at New Place and throughout the town is probably heard in the lines written in the autumn of 1597,

> When we mean to build
> We first survey the plot, then draw the model;
> And when we see the figure of the house,
> Then must we rate the cost of the erection;
> Which if we find outweighs ability,
> What do we then but draw anew the model? [2]

and again,

> We survey
> The plot of situation and the model,
> Consent upon a sure foundation,
> Question surveyors, know our own estate,
> How able such a work to undergo,
> We fortify in paper and in figures
> Like one that draws the model of a house.[3]

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[1] The item is one of a number near the beginning of the Accompt for expenditure on the Bridge, which was probably damaged by winter floods.

[2] *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, I. iii. 41–6.

[3] *Ib.*, ll. 50 ff.

Various items in the Council minutes of 1597 prove the efficiency of Abraham Sturley—such as the appointment of the Headboroughs[1] (Richard Quyny for the High Street ward, John Sadler and John Gibbs for the Wood Street ward, George Badger and William Wyatt for the Sheep Street ward) on 25 May, and an order that day that every man of any trade or occupation within the town shall sort himself into one company or other;[2] the revival of an order fining a member of the Council for non-attendance, and a resolution that every Alderman and Burgess shall provide himself with a gown, on 27 July;[3] and a resolution that the Oken sermon and banquet 'shall be kept upon the Election Day' (early in September), the sermon being delivered in the Gild Chapel and the banquet (otherwise 'drinking') being held at the house of the Bailiff (instead of at a tavern), on 23 September.[4]

§ 30. *George Badger*

STERN treatment was meted out to his kinsman, Nicholas Barnhurst's *bête noire*, Alderman George Badger. This difficult individual was the youngest son of Master Thomas Badger, owner of Bidford

[1] Head Constables.
[2] Council Book B, p. 39. [3] *Ib.*, p. 41. [4] *Ib.*, p. 43.

Grange and Mill—the mill 'cracked' by the flood of July 1588.[1] Thomas Badger, who was executor and residuary legatee of Richard Shakespeare's friend, Thomas Atwood *alias* Taylor of Stratford,[2] made his will on 13 October 1571,[3] leaving the Grange farm to his son Thomas, his boat and fishing-rights and 'aerie of swans'; houses and lands in Bidford to his son William; and the Mill (or rather three water-mills) to his sons Richard and Edward. George, the son of his second wife, Joan Jennings (daughter to George Jennings of Wednesbury), inherited possessions of his mother, a bequest of his grandfather, and '£60 more', together with a house in Stratford settled upon him by his father in 1566. This house was in Henley Street, next door to Master John Shakespeare's. George Badger settled in Stratford as a woollen-draper, and married on 3 November 1578 Alice, daughter to Richard Smith *alias* Court and his wife Juliana Dickson.[4] By the death of his father-in-law in 1587, his wife inherited £20; and by the death of her mother in 1593, she inherited another £20, and her daughters £60.[5] Badger was also residuary

[1] P. 50.
[2] P. 14 f.
[3] P. C. C. 14 Daper.
[4] *Register*, p. 9.
[5] See his will, 5 Jan. 1587, P. C. C. 31 Spencer; and her will, 2 Jan. 1593, P. C. C. 48 Nevell.

legatee by his mother-in-law's will. But he had a very large family, apparently eleven children living, the eldest fifteen years old, when Master John Shakespeare on 26 January 1597 sold him a strip of his garden, eighty-four feet long by eighteen inches wide, for a boundary wall.[1] If the Badgers, big and little, thirteen strong, lived then in Henley Street, we can readily understand the old gentleman's concession; but they seem to have been resident at this time in Sheep Street, in the house from which the Chamberlains were entitled to an annual rent of 5*s*. towards the up-keep of the Bridge.[2] In Sheep Street they were close neighbours to the Quynys and to the Hamlet Sadlers in High Street and, it should be noted, to the Nicholas Barnhursts in Sheep Street.

Nicholas Barnhurst, as we have seen, beknaved his fellow alderman. In consequence, perhaps, of his many children Alderman Badger pleaded inability to attend the Council-meetings, and declined to take upon himself the office of Bailiff. The Council, nevertheless, fined him £5 on 27 July[3] for 'wilful refusing to come to the

[1] *Outlines*, ii. 13. Incidentally we get the length of the Shakespeare garden.

[2] Bequeathed by William Phillips, an old Alderman of the Gild and Bridge Warden, grandfather of Mistress Richard Quyny.

[3] Council Book B, p. 41.

Hall' and £10 on 23 September [1] for declining the bailiwick, enforcing the latter penalty on 30 September by nineteen votes out of twenty-two.[2] Richard Quyny was one of the three who did not vote against him. John Gibbs, a well-to-do yeoman living in Rother Street, was elected Bailiff in his stead.

Amid such serious matters Abraham Sturley found time to patronize four companies of travelling players and a puppet-show of 'The City of Norwich'.[3] Puritan as he was, he did not object to gowns, as we have seen above, nor to cakes and ale (he provided sack and sugar for the visiting magistrates), nor to plays if they were of an edifying character.

§ 31. *A Petition to the Exchequer*

In the autumn of 1597 Richard Quyny was entrusted with a petition from the Corporation to the Queen's Exchequer to the effect that Stratford might be relieved of the edict restraining the making of malt and of the payment of subsidy, and that its charter might be confirmed with enlargement of certain articles. 'Our town', it ran, 'hath no other especial trade', and 'our houses are fitted to no other uses', and 'many

[1] Council Book B, p. 43. [2] *Ib.*, p. 45.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 39 f.: Chamberlains' Accompt, 13 January 1598.

'servants among us are hired only to that pur-
'pose'; and the 'town wants the help of
'commons to keep cattle'; besides, 'we have
'endured great losses by two extreme fires which
'have mightily decayed our said town'.[1] Quyny's absence in London on behalf of the petition led to a correspondence, which is partly extant and of great value to us. The bare outlines of men which I have been able to draw begin now to fill in, and if they do not grow into life-sized portraits of Shakespeare's friends and acquaintance, they become living sketches for which we can hardly be too grateful.

Parliament met on 24 October. On the 27th Quyny wrote to Sturley from the *Bell* in Carter Lane under St. Paul's. Sturley received the letter on 3 November and replied at length on the 4th, dispatching his answer by the carrier of Shipston-on-Stour on Saturday the 5th.[2] He tells of a visit by himself, Master Barber and others to (now) Sir Edward Greville at Milcote on the 3rd, to obtain his approval and support of the proposed enlargement of the charter.[3] Sir Edward, he says, 'gave his allowance and liking thereof,
'and affied unto us his best endeavour, so that
'his rights be preserved. He willed us to acquaint
'the whole Company, and that we should con-

[1] Misc. Doc. ii. 18. [2] Saunders 125[a]–128[b].
[3] Misc. Doc. v. 150.

'stitute some one for the following of the cause 'and to attend him in the matter, and in his 'judgment *you* were the fittest man: all which 'we have done and agreed upon accordingly.' Sir Edward Greville had an eye to business 'in the matter', and recommended for co-operation with himself in London and Westminster the man whom he knew to be the ablest in Stratford. Sturley continues: 'Sir Edward saith we shall 'not be at any fault for money for prosecuting 'the cause, for himself will procure it and lay it 'down for us for the time. Now, good brother, 'it behoveth you to be circumspect, hearty and 'industrious for the contriving hereof; and it is 'thought fit that you shall take counsel hereof of 'Master Combe'—William Combe of Warwick and the Middle Temple—'and Master Atkinson '—his lodging is above the Serjeants' Inn in 'Chancery Lane. . . . Sir Edward a little stood 'upon the toll of beasts and sheep, saying it was 'his; but Master Barber said for the corn it 'was our's clearly already, for the other neither 'his nor our's, and therefore with which answer 'he seemed to be contented. Now, Sir, I pray 'you consider if in regard of his kindness at all 'times heretofore,[2] and for his love in effecting

[1] R. Atkinson. Foss, *Judges of England*, Counsel, v. 421.

[2] But see p. 83 f. Presumably Edward Greville had yielded to Sir Fulke's request with a good grace.

'this, so that to avoid all occasions of jealousy 'and mislike hereafter between him, his and us 'and our successors, we did yield and offer unto 'him and his £20 by year for the fee-farm of his 'Leet perquisites of Court, chief-rents and such 'other rights of his . . . I propounded it unto 'the Company what they thought of £15 by 'year; they thought it exceeding well if these 'things may be obtained for £20 by year or 'more. I am earnestly requested to join with 'you in the business. Your allowance, *per* Sir 'Edward Greville's motion unto them, is 2*s*. by 'day, so that if you settle unto it, it is necessary 'you send away or sell your mare. . . . and I will, 'if possibly I can settle my occasions, come unto 'you with speed. . . . If you can firmly make the 'good knight sure to pleasure our Corporation, 'besides that ordinary allowance for your diet 'you shall have £20 for recompence.' We learn from the letter that a third 'gathering' by royal letters patent had realized little, 'our distresses 'falling out in so hard a season of dearth that 'most men's liberalities are shut up'. We learn also that the writer was sore put to it to meet his liabilities. Creditors pressed for payment. He asks, 'to what purpose or with what heart 'can a man grieved and burdened with his 'wants satisfy him that would fain have money

'when he hath nothing but words to pay him 'withal? But I may now weary you with reading, 'as I should be writing were it not to you, whose 'company and colloquy I seem for the time to 'entertain. *Homo homini deus, et homo homini 'lupus*.[1] The Lord for my strong sins hath raised 'up against me those strong scourges and whips 'to chastise, afflict and persecute me, yet leaveth 'me not without comfort in yourself and other 'good means. . . . His holy name be sanctified, 'His will be done in earth as in heaven! Fare 'ye well, good brother in the Lord, who make 'you and me partakers of those comforts which 'belong to His beloved.' At the opening of his letter he wrote, 'All your good friends hear 'gladly of your health, for the continuance 'thereof we heartily pray. For your success, be 'it as the Lord will! Master Parsons is acquainted 'accordingly. I have done your commendations 'to your father and wife and children, who are 'all well, the Lord be praised, and all your 'friends here as you left them.' He adds in a postcript, 'Henry Strelly on Monday next, *Deo 'optimo maximo volente*,[2] entereth upon the School 'with Master Aspinall, *domino Edwardo Greville*

[1] 'Man is a god to man, man is a wolf to man.' Erasmus, *Adagia*, 69 f. Cf. Plautus, *Trinummus* ii. 4. 46 and *Asinaria*, ii. 4. 88.

[2] 'God, the Best and Highest, willing.'

'*milite annuente astipulante: cui propter singu-*
'*larem gratiam et favorem multum debeo, et tu*
'*magis multo.*'[1] This was his son, who had yet to take his degree at Oxford, being dispensed residence, as was often done to men who took up teaching.[2]

§ 32. *Richard Quyny's Sojourn in London, 1597–8*

Quyny wrote again from London on 3 November, his letter being delivered late on the 5th by the hand of Sturley's 'cousin', Alderman Badger. Sturley replied on the 8th. He asks the meaning of a word which he cannot 'fish-out'—Quyny's handwriting is swift and small—adds particulars to his former letter, and because he does not know whether Quyny has his book of the Charters with him or whether it is in his closet at home, 'where no man can come without your key', he sends him his own. He prays him to do all he can to persuade a persistent creditor to stay his suit.[3] Both Sturley and Quyny were absent from a Council meeting on 16 December,[4] probably

[1] 'Sir Edward Greville knight assenting and agreeing: to whom on account of his singular grace and favour I am much indebted, and thou much more.'

[2] P. 92.

[3] Misc. Doc. i. 140.

[4] Council Book B, p. 47.

being together in London. Sturley was home again on the 21st,[1] but Quyny spent Christmas in the metropolis, and was still there when Sturley, after visits to Cambridge and Bedford on behalf of the sufferers from the fires, wrote to him, in Latin, on 18 January 1598.[2] He has received his 'multifarious epistles dated before 'and after the Nativity'. On account of the uncertainty of his return it was not easy to reply. When they meet at home, if not earlier in London, he will tell him of his doings at Cambridge and Bedford. Their hopes in these counties were realized by the good offices of Robert Burgoyne (Puritan lord of the manors of Sutton in Bedfordshire and Wroxall in Warwickshire). His cousin Badger, he hears, was dismissed from the Council on the Chamberlains' Accompt day, 13 January.[3] 'My kinsman Sir Combe' —John Combe the wealthy bachelor and moneylender—'holds the silver and gold plate in 'pledge, by the advice and persuasion of Daniel 'Baker; with whom also he was very angry on 'thine account; but I think he was sorry for

[1] *Ib.*, p. 48. [2] Saunders, 132[a]–133[a].

[3] 'At this Hall it is agreed by the greatest number present that from henceforth George Badger shall no longer be one of the Aldermen of this Borough, for that he will not be ordered by the statutes of the House' (Council Book B, p. 48).

'that outbreak of wrath, though I do not know 'whether he has yet taken him back into favour.[1] '. . . Thine are all well, male and female; by the 'care of thy father, the industry of thy wife, the 'labour of the maids and the blessing of God, 'thy affairs are almost as flourishing as we can 'pray for. The Almighty keep thee without 'harm and send thee back to us safe, more swiftly 'than all swiftness.'[2]

He writes again on 24 January, a long and interesting letter in English.[3] It contains a reference to Shakespeare, and is evidence that Quyny and Shakespeare had met this Christmas in London. On 24 November was heard in the High Court of Chancery a bill of complaint by the Poet's father and mother against John Lambert for the recovery of their farm, Asbies.[4] On 26 December, 1 and 6 January, and 26 February

[1] 'Cognatus dominus Combe vasa argentea et aureata pro vado tenet ex suasione et deliberatione Danielis Baker, quocum etiam valde succensebat tua gratia, sed illius concitationis et iracundiae illum poenituisse puto sed quidem ignoro an in gratiam rediit adhuc.' Lawyer's Latin is 'pro vado', i. e. pro vadio, i. e. pro vadimonio. 'Dominus' is a bit of sarcasm.

[2] 'Tui tuaeque omnes bene valent. Res tuae domesticae Patris cura, conjugis industria, ancillarum labore, benedicente Domino, succedunt pene ad votum . . . Incolumem te servet Deus omnipotens ut te sospitem mittat ad nos omni festinatione festinantius.'

[3] Misc. Doc. i. 135.

[4] *Outlines*, ii. 14 ff.

Shakespeare's company performed at Whitehall.[1] Falstaff made his first appearance this season at Court, and was soon on the public stage—a pirated copy of the *First Part of Henry the Fourth* being entered at Stationers' Hall on 25 February.[2] Sturley writes, 'Most loving and beloved in the 'Lord, in plain English we remember you in 'the Lord and ourselves unto you. I would 'write nothing unto you now but *Come home!* 'I pray God send you comfortably home. This 'is one special remembrance from your father's 'motion: It seemeth by him that our country-'man, Master Shakespeare, is willing to disburse 'some money upon some odd yard-land or other 'at Shottery or near about us. He thinketh it 'a very fit pattern to move him to deal in the 'matter of our tithes. By the instructions you 'can give him thereof and by the friends he can 'make therefore, we think it a fair mark for him 'to shoot at and not impossible to hit. It 'obtained would advance him indeed and would 'do us much good. *Hoc movere et quantum in te 'est permovere ne negligas; hoc enim et sibi et 'nobis maximi erit momenti. Hic labor, hoc opus 'esset eximie et gloriae et laudis sibi.*'[3] The term

[1] *Declared Accounts of the Chamber* and *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxix. 324, 3 Dec. 1598. [2] Arber, iii. 105.

[3] 'Don't neglect to move in this and, as much as in you lies, move deeply; for it will be both to himself and us of the

'countryman' (here and in Richard Quyny's letter of 25 October), which means practically 'Warwickshireman', may imply a certain aloofness on Shakespeare's part from town affairs, due to his frequent long absences and his rise in social position. Old Quyny knew his desire to stand well in the neighbourhood. He had obtained a coat-of-arms and bought New Place, whither, no doubt, his wife and daughters had removed from Henley Street. Quyny knew also his 'honesty' (as well as Ben Jonson [1]), and that as farmer of the tithes he would be a credit to his friends as to himself.

§ 33. *Discontent with Maltsters and Engrossers of Corn*

Sturley gives a lively account of local discontent caused by the high price of corn and the widespread poverty: 'You shall understand that

greatest importance. This is the task, this the work to bring him exceeding honour and praise.' Cf. *Aeneid*, vi. 126–9:

> Facilis descensus Averni:
> Noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;
> Sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
> Hoc opus, hic labor est.

[1] 'I loved the man and do honour his memory on this side idolatry as much as any. He was indeed honest and of an open and free nature' (*Timber*, lxiv). So the Poet's father, 'Will is a good honest fellow', p. 182; and Chettle, 'his honesty', p. 74.

'our neighbours are grown, with the wants they 'feel through the dearness of corn (which here 'is beyond all other countries'—i.e. shires—'that 'I can hear of dear and over dear), malcontent. 'They have assembled together in a great number, 'and travelled to Sir Thomas Lucy on Friday 'last to complain of our maltsters, on Sunday to 'Sir Fulke Greville and Sir John Conway—I 'should have said, on Wednesday to Sir Edward 'Greville first.[1] There is a meeting here expected 'to-morrow. The Lord knoweth to what end it 'will sort! Thomas West'—a shoemaker—'returning from the two knights of the Wood-'land'—Sir Fulke Greville and Sir John Conway, in the Forest of Arden—'came home so full that 'he said to Master Baily'—John Gibbs—'that 'night, *he hoped within a week to lead some of 'them in a halter*, meaning the maltsters; and '*I hope*, saith John Grannams'—a weaver in Stratford, son of John Bretchgirdle's kinsman and executor—'*if God send my Lord of Essex*[2] *down 'shortly, to see them hanged on gibbets at their own 'doors*.' He continues, 'To this end I write this 'chiefly that there might by Sir Edward Greville 'some means be made to the knights of the 'Parliament for an ease and discharge of such

[1] To Milcote on Wednesday the 18 January, to Charlecote on the 20th, and to Beauchamp's Court and Arrow on the 22nd.

[2] The Earl Marshal.

'taxes and subsidies wherewith our town is like 'to be charged; and, I assure you, I am in great 'fear and doubt by no means able to pay. Sir 'Edward Greville is gone to Bristowe, and from 'thence to London, as I hear: who very well 'knoweth our estates and will be willing to do 'us any good. Our great bell is broken'—recently re-cast [1]—'and William Wyatt'—acting Chamberlain—'is mending the pavement of the 'Bridge. My sister'—Mistress Quyny—'is cheer-'ful, and the Lord hath been merciful and com-'fortable unto her in her labours and, so that you 'be well employed, giveth you leave to follow 'your occasions for one week or fortnight longer' —Parliament was dissolved on 9 February. 'Yesterday I spake to Master Sheldon'—Robert Sheldon of the College, Warwick, a Puritan lawyer who had supported Job Throgmorton [2]—'at Sir 'Thomas Lucy's for the stay of Master Burton's 'suit'—a pressing creditor.[3] 'Good brother, 'speak to Master Goodall that there be no more 'proceeding in the Arches by Master Clapton,[4]

[1] P. 58.

[2] *Black Book of Warwick*, pp. 106 ff., 113–15, 389–97; *Book of John Fisher*, p. 193.

[3] 'If you see Master Burton forget not to follow him hard for withdrawing his suit, for upon an honest and indifferent reckoning I will satisfy him with all the speed I am able' (Sturley to Quyny, 4 November 1597).

[4] P. 81.

'whom I am content and most willing to com-
'pound withal. My brother Woodward cometh
'up at the latter end of this week, who will speak
'with Master Clapton himself to that purpose.
'I am left in the greatest need of £30 that
'possibly may be: in truth, brother, to you be
'it spoken and to none else, for want thereof
'know scarce which way to turn me. *Det Deus*
'*misericordiae Dominus exitum secundum bene*
'*placitum suum*.[1] Your father with his blessing
'and commendation, my sister with her loving
'remembrance commends her; in health both,
'with all your children and household; your
'father, extraordinary hearty, cheerful and lusty,
'hath sent you this remembrance enclosed. . . .
'I would Hamlet were at home'—Hamlet Sadler, engaged at this time in an obstinate suit in the Court of Record—'satisfied for his pains taken
'before his coming and so freed from further
'travail. *Dum ullus sum tuus sum*'—so long as I am, thine I am. 'Commend me to Master
'Tom Burnell'—a tailor and yeoman of Chapel Street, a kinsman of Shakespeare's kinsman, Thomas Greene[2]—'and pray him, for me and
'my brother, Daniel Baker, to look that John

[1] 'God, the Lord of mercy, give an issue according to his good pleasure.'

[2] Pp. 154 ff.

'Tubb may be well hooped, that he leak not out 'law to our hurt! My Lady Greville is run in 'arrearages with my sister for malt, as it seemeth, 'which hindereth and troubleth her not a little.'[1]

On 28 January the High Sheriff and Justices of Warwickshire signified to the Privy Council the discontent in the county, especially at Stratford and Alcester, with engrossers of corn and maltsters, and requested that the price of malt might be fixed. The Council replied on 19 February that the Justices had it in their own hands to deal with offenders and declined to fix the price.[2] In the meantime at Warwick the Bailiff and his 'justiciary' (who was Master John Greene of the *Crown Inn* in the High Pavement, a kinsman of Thomas Greene the barrister, a kinsman of Shakespeare) were binding-over the maltsters in heavy sums not to make malt;[3] and in Stratford a further corn-inquiry was held on 4 February,[4] from which we learn that William Parsons in Wood Street had 8 quarters of malt; John Tubb in the same street, 13 quarters; Abraham Sturley in Wood Street, 5 quarters of his own, 12½ belonging to Sir Thomas Lucy, and 11½ to other clients; John Wheeler in Henley

[1] Wife of Sir Edward: pp. 145, 201. [2] *Acts*, xxviii. 314.
[3] *Book of John Fisher* (Kemp), pp. 187, 188.
[4] Misc. Doc. i. 106.

Street, 5 of his own; William Smith in Henley Street (Shakespeare's godfather, as we have supposed), 2; Richard Tyler (Shakespeare's friend) in Sheep Street, 15; William Wyatt in Sheep Street, 11; Alexander Aspinall, the Schoolmaster, in Chapel Street, 11; William Shakespeare in Chapel Street (at New Place), 10; the Vicar 6 of his own, 4 of his sister's; Daniel Baker in the High Street, 3 of his own and 2½ of Master Tovey's of Coventry;[1] Richard Quyny in the High Street, 14 of his own and 7 of Sir John Huband's; Henry Walker (Shakespeare's friend) in the High Street, 6; and Thomas Rogers, 7 of his own and 5 of Sir John Huband's. Small stores of malt and grain housed in Stratford for humble folk, such as Sir Fulke Greville's cook, Master Barnes's servant of Clifford Chambers, one Baker a bachelor of Charlecote, indicate how widespread was this form of investment.

§ 34. *Relief Sought from Subsidy*

Richard Quyny was home at last on 8 February when he attended, with his old father and Abraham Sturley, a meeting of the Council.[2] At this meeting John Sadler and Daniel Baker were elected Aldermen. On 9 February Parliament was dissolved after voting three subsidies for the

[1] P. 103. [2] Council Book B, p. 49.

defence of the realm, 4*s.* in the £ on land, 2*s.* 8*d.* in the £ on goods and six-fifteenths on personalty. From these taxes Stratford men sought exemption [1]—among them William Shakespeare as a resident of New Place, with malt in his barn and a load of stone to sell after the restoration of his house for the repair of the Bridge, and, as we cannot doubt in that hard time, with many calls, public and private, upon his purse. As a lodger in London, at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, he may also have asked for relief. An assessment of 1*s.* in the £, the second part of the subsidy granted by the Parliament of 1593, made in October 1596 and due in February 1597, was reported unpaid on 15 November 1597 upon his £5-worth of possessions in his chambers.[2] He certainly appealed against the assessment of the subsidy of 1598, and was eventually on 1 October put down for the payment of 13*s.* 4*d.*, which was 2*s.* 8*d.* in the £ on £5.[3] But this autumn, apparently, he went to live with a Huguenot family in Silver Street, Cripplegate, the Mountjoys,[4] in whose house he

[1] The draft of their Petition, in Quyny's handwriting, is at the Birthplace. Cf. Misc. Doc. v. 150.

[2] *Athenaeum*, 26 March 1904.

[3] Lay Subsidy Roll, London, $\frac{146}{369}$ (Hunter, *New Illustrations*, pp. 76 ff.).

[4] Court of Requests, Depositions in Bellot v. Mountjoy, 11 May 1612. See C. W. Wallace, *University Studies*, Nebraska, 1911.

probably finished his *Henry the Fifth* and met with the French Geneva Bible quoted by him in that play.[1] The collectors, losing sight of his whereabouts, followed him to the Globe on the Bankside and there obtained the money.[2]

In September 1598 William Parsons was elected Bailiff of Stratford, but he made good excuse and his place was taken by John Smith the vintner, with Abraham Sturley as Head Alderman.[3] On 27 September Richard Quyny was appointed to 'ride to London about the suit to Sir John 'Fortescue for discharging of the tax and sub-'sidy'—Sir John Fortescue being the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The same day a strong resolution was passed with respect to the 'great disorder' in the borough caused by the Tipplers (otherwise ale-house keepers), 'thorough their 'unreasonable strong drink,[4] to the increase of 'quarrelling and other misdemeanours in their 'houses, and the farther and greater impoverish-'ment of many poor men haunting the said 'houses, when their wives and children are in 'extremity of begging; and also for that most 'of the said tippling-houses are very dangerous

[1] 'Le chien est retourné à son propre vomissement et la truie laveé au bourbier' (2 Peter ii. 22), III. vii. 68 f.

[2] Pipe Roll, 40 and 41 Elizabeth.

[3] Council Book B, p. 54. [4] See *Min. and Acc.*, I. xi note.

'for fire by reason of the straitness to lay fuel 'in'. The Tipplers were forbidden to make beer, they must get it of the regulation quality from the common brewers. The resolution was endorsed with the signatures of Barnhurst, Parsons, Richard Quyny, Sturley, Henry Walker, Alexander Aspinall, and others.[1]

§ 35. *Quyny's Second Sojourn in London, 1598–9*

Richard Quyny's sojourn in London this autumn resulted in another correspondence which is in part preserved and of the greatest interest. We have a letter to him in Latin from his son Richard, at the Stratford School, written about the boy's eleventh birthday (*c.* 5 October).[2] He asks his father to buy two copy-books (*chartaceos libellos*), for himself and his brother (probably Thomas,[3] Judith Shakespeare's future husband, who was an excellent penman), and he thanks him, in rather copy-book fashion, for bringing him up until that day in religious studies (*educasti me in sacrae doctrinae studiis usque ad hunc diem*). He can never repay his kindness. He signs himself, 'Thy little son most obedient to thee'.

[1] Council Book B, p. 55.

[2] Saunders, f. 106. He was baptized on 8 October 1587.

[3] Baptized 26 Feb. 1589.

Something of Aspinall is doubtless in the sentiment as in the Latin. All kinds of communications are made to the obliging friend and relative in London. Robert Allen writes from Stratford on 8 October to his brother Rafe Allen in Fleet Street at the sign of the Pump, that Master Quyny has 50*s*. for him wherewith to pay a debt.[1] Sturley writes on 16 October, 'I thank you for 'your remembrance of me. . . . Did not Jonathan 'take care for his David to keep him in the 'King's favour? . . . Thus it is your and our 'brother William Wheat'—Quyny's brother-in-law, second husband of his sister Anne, of Coventry, son and heir to Henry Wheat of Walsall —'hath procured me an hundred, to come in 'about the 22 of November. . . . Master Baily 'doth baily it exceeding well. Your household 'are in health and ours. William Cooke is 'shuttle[2] and will not be brought to our bow'—Sturley was evidently an archer and knew the butts by Stratford Bridge. William Walford writes on 17 October, 'I moved you before your going-up'—to London—'touching my matter in 'the King's Bench at the suit of Roger Smith'—son of Shakespeare's godfather, now rebuilding the house lately occupied by the weaver Deege next door to Thomas Rogers's house in High

[1] Misc. Doc. xii. 51. [2] Timid lest he be shot.

Street—'and at that time you were uncertain of 'your going-up. I heartily pray you to speak 'with Master Horborne mine attorney. . . . I pray 'you ask him whether it be needful of my coming-'up.'[1] The same day Daniel Baker sends a note to his uncle to inquire if Leonard Bennett has kept his promise to pay a debt of £4 to Master Edward Kimpton at the sign of the *Black Boy* in Watling Street. 'My aunt', he says, 'your 'father, children and household are well.'[2] Then we have a letter from the old father himself, a precious document, dated 20 October and addressed 'to my loving son, Richard Quyny at 'the Bell in Carter Lane'. He begins, 'God 'bless you. I, with your wife, children and 'family, God be praised, are in good health. 'Your letters are received, and delivered to 'Master Bailiff and Master Alderman'—John Smith, vintner, and Abraham Sturley. 'You 'shall receive by Greenway's son'—Greenway was a woollen-draper in Bridge Street with a house also in Henley Street which was burned in the fire of 1594—'six cheese, weight 30 lb.; and for 'a collar of brawn your wife can by no means 'get one. July Shaw is paid'—the wooldriver who lived next door but one to New Place, step-son to Alexander Aspinall.[3] 'For Master Parsons,

[1] Misc. Doc. i. 116. [2] *Ib.* v. 149. [3] P. 62.

'I pray you write earnestly to him for the '£3 13*s.* 4*d.* I doubt of the money, for Master 'Walker, parson of Ilmington, was at Stratford 'upon yesterday last, of whom I heard of Master 'Parsons' hard dealing. Your wife is careful and 'maketh all means she can to satisfy both your 'credits. I hope you shall hear from Master 'Baily and Master Alderman by the carrier from 'Shipston. Also, herein beside, you shall receive 'a letter which I meant to send to Master Hall [1] 'but thought good to have your advice. Also, 'Master Warburton is gone to dwell 20 miles 'beyond the Welsh Pool in Wales, wherefore you 'may put his band in suit, or speak with Master 'Willis [2] and use his advice. For Harrington of 'Alcester, I found the execution against him this 'day in the cupboard in the hall, which is return-'able *crastino mane*, and tomorrow will I deliver 'it the Sheriff to be executed with all speed.' He adds in a postscript, 'Also you shall receive 'the tobeckay by this bearer. You may weigh 'it when at London, and also the two spoons 'and old silver and cup, how much you may have 'for them but not sell them, and the rings to be 'gilt. Weigh the tobecker.' [3] He is in some doubt as to the pronunciation of the name of the

[1] Of Esbury? p. 173.
[2] Richard Willis.
[3] Misc. Doc. i. 130.

costly new weed, liable to be stolen on the journey.[1] Sturley writes two days later: 'Be 'valiant. If the Lord bless you with success it 'will pay itself; if it fail, it is against all reason 'that you should lose your pains and travail, fear 'not such a thing. For money, so that the 'necessity and cause of it may reasonably appear, 'doubt not but it will be supplied. If you obtain 'but for the tax certain then there is already 'some money certain in your hand and good 'presumption of obtaining the other certified. 'Master Baily or myself will come unto you 'speedily with the rest of the tax. . . . One 'special suggestion must be that'—if the relief be not granted—'our Minister's and School-master's wages may be quartered'—i. e. reduced from £20 to £15.[2]

§ 36. *Quyny Writes to Shakespeare in London*

On 25 October Richard Quyny wrote to William Shakespeare from the *Bell*: 'Loving 'Countryman, I am bold of you as of a friend, 'craving your help with £30 upon Master 'Bushell's and my security, or Master Mytton's

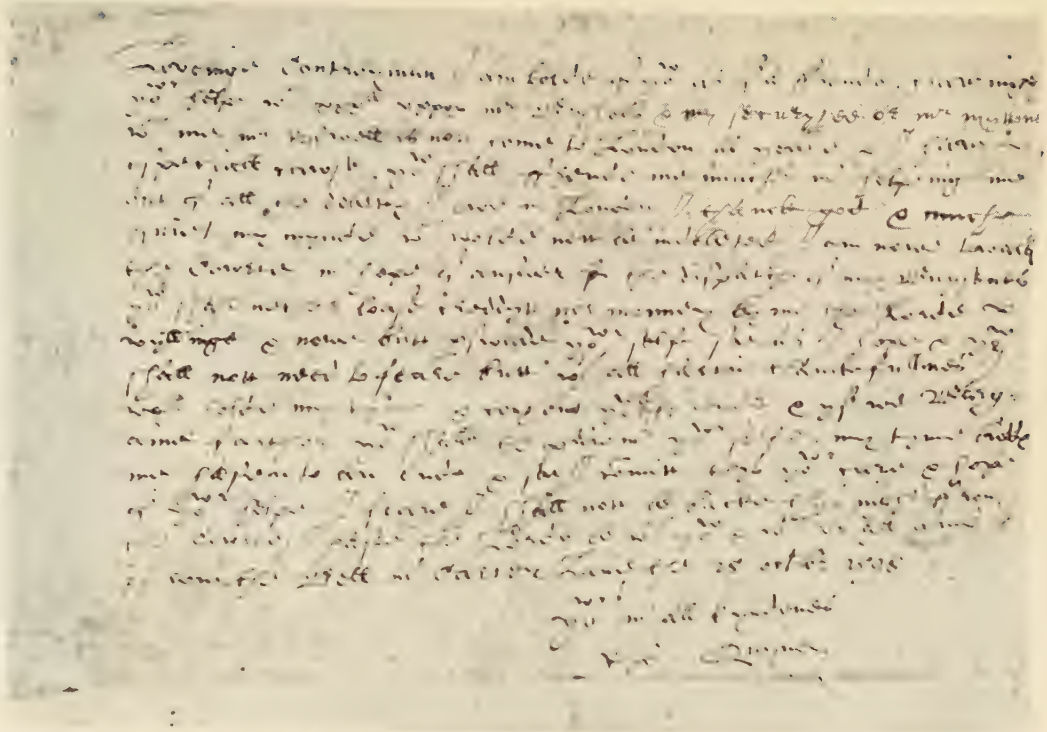
[1] Philip Rogers, the apothecary, was summoned in 9 Jas. (1611–12) to pay John Bridges 20*s.* for ¾ lb. of tobacco. Philip Rogers sold a pipe (for smoking) in 1611 for 3½*d.* (Rogers's son Thomas, by the bye, became a surgeon, obtaining his licence at Oxford in 1636).

[2] Saunders, 96ª–96ᵇ.

'with me. Master Roswell is not come to 'London as yet'—from whom he evidently expected a loan—'and I have especial cause. You 'shall friend me much in helping me out of all 'the debts I owe in London. I thank God and 'much quiet my mind, which would not be 'indebted. I am now towards the Court'—to Richmond, probably by boat—'in hope of answer 'for the despatch of my business. You shall 'neither lose credit nor money by me, the Lord 'willing. And now but persuade yourself so, as 'I hope, and you shall not need to fear, but with 'all hearty thankfulness I will hold my time and 'content your friend'—if Shakespeare should have to borrow the money—'and if we bargain 'farther you shall be the paymaster yourself. My 'time bids me hasten to an end, and so I commit 'this to your care and hope of your help. I fear 'I shall not be back this night from the Court. 'Haste. The Lord be with you and with us all, 'Amen. Yours in all kindness.'[1]

This letter has often been quoted. We see it now in its context. It is directed, without address, 'To my loving good friend and country-'man, Master William Shakespeare, deliver these.' Quyny was perhaps not quite sure of the poet's

[1] The letter is at the Birthplace, Stratford. I am indebted to the Trustees for permission to reproduce it.



LETTER OF RICHARD QUYNY TO SHAKESPEARE, 1598

new lodging. There is no mistaking the friendly relation of the two men—'countryman' in London is a term of fellowship. Shakespeare, however 'open and free' of nature, would run no risk in the disposal of his hard-earned savings, yet his friend could confidently rely on a favourable response to his request.

The Privy Council met that day at Richmond, there being present at one or other of their three sittings Archbishop Whitgift, Lord Keeper Egerton, Earl Marshal Essex, Treasurer of the Household North, the prospective Lord Treasurer Buckhurst (Burghley was recently dead and buried—he died on 4 August and his funeral took place in Westminster on the 29th), Master Comptroller Knowles, Master Secretary Robert Cecil, and Chancellor of the Exchequer Fortescue.[1] Quyny returned to London without his 'answer' but to find a note, apparently, at his inn from Shakespeare assuring him of the £30.[2] He wrote to Sturley that night complaining of his travail and hindrance of answer by the affairs of the Court, and telling him that Shakespeare would procure them money.[3]

[1] *Acts*, xxix. 232 f.

[2] Unless he met him on the way to Richmond and so did not dispatch the letter.

[3] The letter is lost, but its contents we gather from Sturley's reply of 4 November.

The same day, on the other hand, William Parsons wrote from Stratford to Richard Quyny, 'I have taken order with William Wenlock to 'pay unto you or to Mistress Griffin'—the hostess—'at the *Bell* in Carter Lane ten pounds 'on All Saints' Even or on the Day.[1] I would 'entreat you to take some order with Mistress 'Griffin or some other of the house, that when 'he cometh to the house to pay the money, some 'of them may receive it if you be forth of the 'way; and keep you the money for Master 'Richard Woodward; he will be with you about 'All Saints' Day.' He signs himself, 'Your loving 'neighbour and friend'.[2] On 26 October Daniel Baker wrote to Quyny a letter full of exacting requests, as evidently to a most good-natured relative, respecting payments to be made on his behalf at the *Two Cats* in Canning Street and no less than five places of business in Watling Street, at the signs, namely, of the *Black Boar*, the *Star and Pheasant*, the *Chequer*, the *King's Head*, and the *Woolsack*.[3] On the 27th Sturley wrote, 'Most 'loving brother, your letter of the 20th came to 'my hands the 27 of October by candle-light. 'As soon as I read my own I went and delivered 'yours to my sister'—Mistress Quyny—'and was 'made partaker of the contents thereof also. For

[1] 31 October and 1 November.

[2] Misc. Doc. i. 114. [3] *Ib.* 128.

'our private occasions, if not as the gracious 'Judith *si periero periero*,[1] yet with the wise, 'patient man *quod ferendum est ferendum est, faxit* 'Deus ut ferendo [*meliores*] *fiamus. Quid non in* 'verbo sanctitatis eius confirmatum habemus? non 'imponet nobis ultra quam ferre possumus; in 'nullam aeternitatem se defuturum sibi confidenti- 'bus; ergo in aucthore consolationis habeamus con- 'solationem.[2] For matters of our estate public: 'Master Baily, I assure you, doth baily it exceed- 'ing many of his predecessors, beyond all expecta- 'tion well; and were it not that the froward 'hearts of some did take and hold occasion to 'insult upon you and me for that mammon that 'hitherto we have been and must be beholden 'unto them for, we should out of doubt, by his 'good courage and willing mind to do well, effect 'every good thing fit for our government. 'William Wyatt, Rafe Lord, John Sadler, John

[1] It was not Judith but Esther that said this, iv. 16 (though not according to the Vulgate, *tradens me morti et periculo*; Sturley apparently turns into Latin the English of the Geneva and Bishops' versions, which follow the Hebrew, 'If I perish, I perish').

[2] 'What is to be borne is to be borne; God fashions it that we are made better by bearing. Have we it not confirmed in the Book of His holiness? He will not put upon us beyond what we are able to bear; He would fail none unto eternity of those who trust in Him: therefore in the Author of consolation let us have consolation'. See 1 Cor. x. 13 and Heb. v. 9.

'Smith junior,[1] blow the coals of despight and 'disgrace, and flinging the garbage of their aley 'entrails in our very faces, do what in them lies 'to blot every good proceeding. Shimei railed, 'but David acknowledged that he was sent of the 'Lord:[2] the Lord is not the author of railing 'and despight, but David had deserved to be so 'railed on and more. *Ab intimis confiteor haec 'omnia ac multa maiora merito a Domino nobis 'infligi; cum tamen eius simus haereditas: quid 'nos a lege nostra amovere potest?*[3] But for your 'first letter to Master Baily: he propounded it 'to a company of purpose gathered. Every man's 'mind was almost distracted,[4] and some few of 'the juniors, with myself, as Daniel Baker, Henry 'Wilson and such, did more than discourse. All 'say it would do well, but the most think it 'impossible. But the best advice, *videlicet* 'Thomas Barber, William Wilson &c, think that 'the clause of your letter concerning the Queen's 'land in her's and her farmers' hand rather a point 'to hinder all than to further anything. *Frater*

[1] Only their initials are given, but they are easily identified. Cf. the sentiments, pp. 153 f., 166 (note). [2] 2 Sam. xvi. 5–10.

[3] 'From my heart I confess that all these things and many more are deservedly laid upon us by the Lord; nevertheless, since we are His inheritance what can remove us from our right?' Read *lege nostra* for *lete nostro*.

[4] With joy, as in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, II. ii. 140.

'*carissime, macte virtute!*[1] If the Lord have 'decreed this thing in your hand, *O quam bonus* '*et benignus nobis Dominus deus Israel! O quam* '*carissimus, consultissimus et remunerandus redi-*'*turus sit nobis.*[2] Were it not possible, to give 'Sir Edward Greville edge in this motion of the 'Queen's land, to bring a moiety to him for his 'labour, at least for the effecting of pontage for 'loaded horse and carts, so that you add dues of 'beasts and sheep to the other particulars you 'speak of? You promise him for that and for 'his fee-farm £20 yearly. Master Baily is coming 'unto you. He saith he will bring you up the 'rest of the tax-money.[3] He will join with you 'if he can tarry, but if he haste down again and 'any likelihood of your proceeding may appear, 'it is ordered that I shall come unto you with 'speed for your ease and comfort: *quid mihi* '*optatius, quid gratius mihi accidere potest in hoc* '*communi bono tibi conjungi cui sim conjunctis-*'*simus? Hae cartae nimis sunt curtae. Haec* '*necnon satis erit describendis hiis. Nullus* [*dies*] '*intervenerit mutuis sine litteris nostris aliquid de*

[1] 'Dearest brother, go ahead!'

[2] 'O how good and kind is the Lord God of Israel unto us! O how very dear, very full of counsel and worthy our recompence is He about to return to us!'

[3] John Skinner of Rowington had already paid in a portion: p. 166.

'*hiis rebus prae se ferentibus*.[1] . . . Your father 'and wife &c. well, and household no want but 'of you. . . . If you can take up money you must 'remember Master Pendlebury, my sister's apron 'promised by you, and a suite of hats for the 'boys, the youngest'—William, Shakespeare's godson as I have concluded—'lined and trimmed 'with silk. At your own table in your own 'house; time for me to go home: late and 'very late.'[2]

On 29 October Adrian Quyny wrote to his son. Heading the letter 'Jesus' he begins, 'God bless 'you and send you a prosperous end of all your 'business'. He says, 'I was yesterday at Warwick, 'and spake to William Leigh concerning the debt 'of Warburton (to you),[3] who saith he hath left 'no order with him, but that Master Warburton 'is to have £100 the 9 November to be paid at 'Saltford'—in Warwick. 'I think good you 'write to Leigh and to Master Warburton if you 'cannot be there yourself. I looked amongst 'your bands but could not find his; wherefore

[1] 'What can happen to me more wished-for or welcome than to be united with thee in this common good, with whom I am most united? These sheets are too short. And so, too, will this be short enough, these things having to be written down. Not a day shall pass without letters from us to each other bearing on their front something about these matters.'

[2] Misc. Doc. i. 145. [3] P. 136.

'if you have it in your study, send the key by 'the next trusty messenger. . . . Yesterday your 'wife was with my Lady Greville but can have 'no money.[1] . . . Your lambs be had home and 'be in the Hill Close and like[2] very well, but 'they must be provided-for to be well wintered. 'Your mare hath been in Luddington ground 'and is well amended for the time, but she is 'now at home and shall be well kept. Your colt 'is well and is put in your brother Sturley's 'ground, but will not tarry there but breaketh 'into Master Perry's ground. I hope I shall get 'pasture for him, or you may send to Simon 'Biddle[3] to get him into Clopton Park'[4]—there being then a *park* at Clopton, full of deer (but not one at Charlecote: Sir Thomas Lucy obtaining his venison from his wife's park at Sutton).

The old man wrote again about 1 November: 'If you bargain with William Shakespeare or 'receive money there'—at his hands,—'bring 'your money home that you may buy (such wares 'as you may sell presently to profit). I see how

[1] Pp. 129, 201.

[2] flourish, thrive, as in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. ii. 268, 'Well-liking wits, gross, fat'; and 2 *Henry IV*, III. ii. 92, 'You like well and bear your years very well'. Cf. Job xxxix. 4 (A V.).

[3] So I venture to interpret 'S. B.' Pp. 172, 177.

[4] Misc. Doc. i. 133.

'knit stockings be sold: there is great buying of 'them at Evesham. Edward Wheat and Harry, 'your brother (William Wheat's) man,[1] were both 'at Evesham this day se'nnight and, as I heard, 'bestow £20 there in knit hose: wherefore I 'think you may do good if you can have money.'[2] Part, then, of Shakespeare's £30 may have gone to stock his friend's shop with knit hose.

§ 37. *Letters to Quyny in London, November 1598*

On 4 November Sturley wrote to Richard Quyny in reply to his letter of 25 October stating that Shakespeare would procure them money: 'which I will like of', he says, 'as I shall hear 'when and where and how; and, I pray, let not 'go that occasion if it may sort to any indifferent 'conditions; also if money might be had for £30 'or £40, a lease &c. might be procured. . . . 'I would I were with you. Nay, if you continue 'with hope of those suits you write-of I think 'I shall (come) without consent, as had you but 'advice and company and more money much 'might be done to obtain our Charter enlarged, 'two fairs more with toll of corn, beasts and 'sheep and *a matter of more value than all that;*

[1] Pp. 151, 208. [2] Misc. Doc. i. 131.

'*for*, say you, *all this is nothing that is in hand* '*seeing it will not rise to* £80. What this matter 'of more value meaneth I cannot understand. . . . 'If it be the rest of the Tithes and the College 'houses and lands you speak of, the one half were 'abundantly rich for us, and the other half to 'increase Sir Edward's royalties would both bear 'the charge and set him sure on.' He is not so enthusiastic about Greville as he was[1]: 'Oh, 'how I fear when I see what Sir Edward can do, 'and how near it sitteth to himself, lest he shall 'think it too good for us and procure it for 'himself, as he served us the last time. . . . For 'present advice and encouragement you have by 'this time Master Baily; and for money . . . 'God will provide. Be of good courage. . . . But 'withal the Chancel must not be forgotten, which 'also obtained would yield some pretty gub of 'money for your present business, as I think.[2] . . . 'My brother Daniel Baker is at Shrewsbury or 'homeward from thence. But now the bell hath 'rung, my time is spent. . . . Take heed of 'tabacco, whereof we hear per William Perry. 'Against any long journey you may undertake 'on foot of necessity or wherein the exercise of 'your body must be employed, drink some good 'burned wine or *aqua vitae* and ale strongly

[1] Pp. 118, 120 f. [2] Pp. 86 f., 89.

'mingled, without bread for a toast; and above 'all, keep you warm. Farewell my dear heart, 'and the Lord increase our loves and comforts 'one to another.'[1] The carriage of this letter to London prepaid was 2*d.*

A letter to Quyny from the widow of George Bardell (Bardolf) is worth quoting. She asks her 'loving kinsman' to find a situation in London for her eldest son, Adrian (godson no doubt of Adrian Quyny), aged 20. 'He is now with my 'cousin Parker, but I look for him home every 'day; for he hath hired another in his place. 'I would therefore entreat you to stand so much 'my good friend as to help me now, and I shall 'be bound to pray for you the longest day of my 'life. If it please you to send me word I will 'send him up unto you. I can get no place for 'him in the country.'[2]

Daniel Baker writes again on 13 November, in the same business-like exacting fashion, as if his worthy uncle had nothing to do but to attend to his affairs. He wastes no time on pious reflections.[3] Sturley is religious and affectionate as usual in his letter of the 14th: 'Master Baily 'came home on Saturday night'—the 11th. 'He 'hath related unto us of your crosses and hin-

[1] Misc. Doc. i. 136. [2] *Ib.* 115.
[3] *Ib.* 126.

'drances and, in a manner, clean discouragements, 'and withal how thorough anguish, grief and 'travail you fret away and consume yourself. 'Brother Quyny, what shall I say? I am sorry. 'What shall I counsel? that is the point. Even 'make short and prepare to come away. You 'can do no more than you can do, you can do 'no more than the Lord will have you do. If 'Sir John Fortescue be cold and Sir Edward slack 'or careless, the very heart and life of the action, 'let it go. . . . It hath cost you so much that it 'grieveth you and maketh you loth to give over; 'but take heed, good brother, lest more cost and 'more labour lost put you not to more sorrow 'and grief. Sir George Carew'—kinsman of Sir Walter Raleigh, home from service in Ireland, husband of Mistress Joyce Clopton, and through her heir to Clopton House and Park—'I hear, 'giveth you countenance and your cause allowance 'in his judgment. Doctor Caesar's successor' (in the Court of Requests) 'likewise. But this is 'ordinary with courtiers: when it cometh to 'their turns to effect for you there is courtesy who 'shall begin. Be sure they will leave you to your 'good fortune except you had the philosopher's 'stone'—the wonderful preparation that turns metal into gold: which Falstaff speaks of in *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth* (written about

this time) when he says of Shallow, 'Now has he 'land and beeves. Well, I'll be acquainted with 'him if I return, and it shall go hard but I will 'make him a philosopher's *two* stones to me'.[1] Sturley goes on: 'Brother Quyny, judge what 'I say, if the matter be compassed with difficulties 'and impossibilities now which before seemed 'open, easy, possible and plain, know that the 'Lord of lords hath met with you, He seeth 'sufficient matter of your unworthiness both in 'you and us; but if all this be worse reported 'and taken than indeed it is, and your possibilities 'do stand as before, let this be a spur to stir you 'up more courageously, a *caveat* to add, if it may 'be, more circumspection and diligence. The 'nearness of the Court at Whitehall'—whither the Queen was expected to arrive from Richmond on the 17 November—'is a help, an ease and 'a comfort. Ply Sir Edward night and day, weary 'him, howsoever he may seem to be weary of 'your importunity[2] yet stick to him, that in the 'night he may dream of you and waking may 'bethink him how he may be rid of you,[3] which 'should be no way but by endeavouring to help 'and farther you.' For matters at home, he says, 'they are *statu quo prius*. Anne Walford is 'buried, so is Mother Biddle'—on 11 November

[1] III. ii. 352 ff. [2] Luke xi. 8. [3] *Ib.*, xviii. 4–7.

—'a twin of Robert Johnson's'—on 10 November, an infant of Robert Johnson in Henley Street, next door but one to old Alderman Shakespeare—'and Robert Butler's wife'—on 13 November. 'Your father disappointed by Warburton [1] keep-'eth no little ado because you will not do as 'every else doth'—i.e. enforce payment. 'Your 'brother Wheat [2] saith he hath his with advan-'tage, so hath Master Parsons, but you do 'nothing. . . . Your mare is or was very lately 'fallen more lame on another leg. I think she 'will hardly serve your turn to be sent up. . . . 'Good brother, with his commendations, Robert 'Burdett's mother prayeth him to help her a little 'toward the tiling of her house. She hath laid 'on 500 tile this last week and oweth both for 'lime and tile 8 or 10 shillings, the which if he 'would make up 30 or 40 shillings she might now 'have her house finished good cheap, a friend 'willing to help her unto tile more reasonable 'and workmen more easy to be had. I pray you 'do thus much for her and for me. But the 'carrier hath with his haste prevented me 'and I have overslept the morning.' [3] Robert Burdett's mother was Anne, widow of Basil Burdett, the old mason, whose house in Wood Street (near Abraham Sturley's) had been burned in the

[1] Pp. 136, 144. [2] Pp. 146, 208. [3] Misc. Doc. i. 144.

Fire of 1594, and who had died in September 1596.

William Walford wrote further on 16 November about his law case, with a word of apology which is refreshing after Daniel Baker's peremptory 'I pray you'.[1] Old Quyny wrote on the 18th, heading his letter again 'Jesus', and beginning as usual with a benediction. 'Your wife', he says, 'sent you by Greenway the tobecka, with 'her sister's spoons and the silver bound up 'within the tobeckay and 20 lb. of cheeses. She 'received from you by Judith Sadler one penny 'and by Greenway two pound of gurnetts, two 'oranges and three stamps'—markers?—'She 'longeth to hear how you speed. Also she would 'have you buy some raisins, currants, pepper, 'sugar and some other grocery, if the prices be 'reasonable and you may have carriage reasonable. 'George Badger's wife meaneth to be at London 'the next week, for whom she would you did for 'her what you can but hopeth you will not enter 'in band for her husband.'[2]

Sturley followed up his letter of 14 November with another on the 20th: 'I writ unto you, 'loving brother, a long letter for our long carrier, 'Edward Bromley,[3] to have brought you, but by

[1] *Ib.* 117. [2] *Ib.* 129.
[3] P. 151.

'his haste he prevented me. John Tubb under-'took to send it the same morning by one that 'lay that night at Master Lane's'—Richard Lane in Bridge Town, witness to John Shakespeare's sale of a strip of his garden to George Badger.[1] 'If you have it you have much, but no great 'matter. Yours are all well and ours. I long 'now greatly to hear from you. John Tubb 'prayeth you to certify his attorney, Master 'Thomas Hunt, that for Thomas Greene's band 'of Marston he is satisfied'—Marston being a resident in Warwick. 'Thus much rather than 'nothing, not having heard of this convenient 'messenger'—the bearer of this letter, a lady traveller—'till this evening, late to bedward. 'Since she doth come'—travel to London—'her 'desire is to find you there; and I pray you, let 'her find what you can in all kindness do for her. 'My gross conceit remembereth no better news 'but to tell you that I long to hear of your 'welfare and, if the Lord will, good success. 'William Wyatt and Richard Lord, with as many 'as they can draw into their faction, stir up 'murmurings and grutchings against you and me 'in all our trivial meetings'—he evidently found the borough parliament a little trying, as probably John Shakespeare had done in former days,—'the

[1] *Outlines*, ii. 13.

'which, I assure you, is much lessened by Master 'Barber's partaking in our misery,[1] for thereby 'his whispering and open dealing against us is 'silenced'—the Quyny régime had its critics and enemies. 'God Almighty grant that by some 'good success in these common affairs these 'private despights may be stopped.' He adds a *postcriptum mane*, on the 21st: 'Brother, you 'remember, yourself, my cousin Badger, William 'Wyatt, Master Parsons and I were served by 'Briscow for matter out of the Exchequer. Now, 'seeing your opportunity is there to stay at some 'leisure, I would you would bethink you of some 'course for the stopping and ending of it. . . . '*Non libenter vellem illum Cantharidem nos depre-* '*dari cum nulla nostra culpa sed sui ipsius arte ac* '*astutia in nos cudetur haec faba.*[2] *Si hoc tibi* '*visum fuerit remorares illius cursus precor.*'[3]

§ 38. *Thomas Greene*

The reference to Thomas Greene introduces us to a kinsman of William Shakespeare, a very able man and even more interesting to us than

[1] Favouring their undertaking.

[2] Terence, *Eunuchus*, ii. 3. 90.

[3] 'I would not wish that we should be plundered by that Voracious Worm, when by no fault of ours but by his art and shrewdness we have to smart for it. If this shall seem good to you, I pray you put a stop to his goings on.' Misc. Doc. i. 141.

Richard Quyny. He was the eldest of the three sons of Thomas Greene, a mercer in the High Pavement, Warwick, his younger brothers being John and Richard. Thomas Greene the mercer had a brother John, a tanner in Tanworth. He had also a cousin in Warwick, the well-to-do host of the *Crown* Inn; who, in his turn, had, apparently, a brother Thomas, who died in Stratford in March 1590. The four cousins may have been grandsons of John Greene and Margaret his wife of Burton near Haseley: which Margaret may have been a sister of Richard Shakespeare of Haseley: which Richard may have been the Poet's grandfather of Snitterfield. Thomas Greene, who died in Stratford in 1590, took the *alias* Shakespeare, and Thomas Greene, son of the mercer, spoke of William Shakespeare as his cousin.[1]

Thomas Greene the mercer was master of his craft in 1586; in which year, in October, with his cousin John of the *Crown*, he supported Job Throgmorton the Puritan as a candidate for Parliament.[2] In November he was presented for buying grain out of the market and for not

[1] Will of Thomas Greene, mercer, 22 July 1590 (Worcester Registry); *Register* (Burials, Stratford), p. 46; Greene's Diary f. 10; *Monastic Estates*, Dugdale Soc., p. 20.

[2] *The Book of John Fisher*, p. 159; *The Black Book of Warwick*, p. 387.

wearing the statute woollen cap on Sundays.[1] He died in July 1590, leaving £80 and a grey mare to his son Thomas, a house in Northampton to his son John, and the residue of his estate to John and Richard equally. Thomas and John became lawyers. Thomas, who had been fined with his father in November 1586 for not wearing the statute cap,[2] entered Staple Inn, and thence the Middle Temple on 20 November 1595.[3] His home was in Warwick until 17 July 1596 when he was presented as a Puritan recusant.[4] He probably came to reside at New Place after Shakespeare's purchase and restoration of the house, as a welcome companion to Mistress Shakespeare and her daughters when the poet was absent in London or on tour, and he himself not keeping his terms at the Middle Temple.[5] He probably had an office in New Place. John Tubb was satisfied with his bond of Master Marston.

[1] *The Book of John Fisher*, pp. 151, 155.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 155. [3] Bench Book, p. 182.

[4] 'Warwick and the parts thereabout are freighted with a number of men precisely conceited, and they trouble the people with their curiosity. How weak ordinary authority is to do any good long experience hath taught' (the Bishop of Worcester to Sir Robert Cecil, 19 July 1596, Hatfield MSS. VI). Among the names appear John Wheeler and John Smith, both gentlemen (of Stratford), and Thomas Greene, gentleman (of Warwick).

[5] Greene's Diary.

A third letter from Daniel Baker to Richard Quyny is dated 24 November. It contains nothing but business, though one item is interesting. Baker has heard of Shakespeare's loan. He says, 'My aunt Quyny telleth me that you are 'to receive £20 or £30 in London, and that you 'will pay some money for me if need be; and 'in that respect I have lent her some money 'already to serve her occasions.'[1]

§ 39. *Quyny and Shakespeare in London at Christmas, 1598–9*

Richard Quyny succeeded in his quest. The petition as to subsidy was granted on the recommendation of Sir John Fortescue on 17 December.[2] Stratford obtained relief to the extent of £75. The town secured also substantial advantages by the revision of the Charter. Formalities had to be gone through and Quyny spent a second Christmas in London. He must have seen something of Shakespeare and his plays. Shakespeare's company performed at Whitehall on Tuesday the 26 December and on Monday the 1 January.[3] Where else they played it is not easy to say. Their old haunt, *The Theatre* in Shoreditch, had been out of use for some time owing to a dispute

[1] Misc. Doc. i. 124.
[2] Wheler Papers, i. 44, 46.
[3] Cunningham, *Revels*, xxxii.

with the ground-landlord. On Thursday the 28 December it was bodily removed by Richard and Cuthbert Burbage and their friends 'to the number of twelve', including a builder, Peter Street, to the Bankside at Southwark. Armed with daggers, swords, bills, and axes they pulled down the timber-work and, resisting interference from the landlord's servants, conveyed it across the Thames to a site in the parish of St. Mary Overy, where they quickly re-erected it on probably a larger and improved scale as *The Globe*. In a second raid on Saturday the 20 January they brought away what material was left.[1] Shakespeare, no doubt, had to do with this adventure, as he certainly had a share in the new playhouse. At Court his company played *Henry the Fifth*, and they probably opened *The Globe* with this noble national drama in the spring—about Shakespeare's thirty-fifth birthday,

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita.

In January, probably, Quyny wrote to one of the Privy Council as 'a poor suitor for Stratford-'upon-Avon, whose purse is weakened with long 'lying in London, and heart much grieved he 'cannot effect to the expectation of his neigh-'bours this poor suit with more speed and less

[1] Bill of Complaint, Allen *v.* Burbage, 44 Elizabeth, and Coram Rege Roll 42 Elizabeth (*Outlines*, i. 360 f.).

'charge; and whose entreaty is now to your 'worship as to one whose power is sufficient to 'hasten the end thereof.'[1] About the same time his wife wrote to him by the pen of Abraham Sturley. In her house and at her dictation, with a good deal of his own thrown in, Sturley told of her business transactions, her borrowing £7 from William Smith the younger (the son of Shakespeare's supposed godfather), in remuneration for which she would have her husband pay him £10 in London, her desire that he should disburse no more than of necessity he must, her fear that he will bestow it on such things as will increase his trouble rather than his profit. 'If 'you have any to spare, in barley is the surest 'profit, by which if you had been at home you 'should have gained more than by all your travail. 'Judith Sadler waxeth very heavy for the burden 'of her childing'—her child, Francis, was baptized on 23 April—'and also of the want of her 'husband'—Hamlet Sadler was with Quyny in London. 'Now you have a toleration for a week 'longer if it be for your profit so that you send 'him home. I would you could agree with him 'for his part certain and whatsoever it is give it 'home in his purse with him; for if occasion 'must carry you forth again, I only will be your

[1] Wheler Papers, i. 54.

'journey-mate'—his wife or Sturley?—'In any 'case provide for your benefit. Read *Tully's* '*Epistles*'[1]—Sturley's advice here surely.

The Queen's warrant for relief from the subsidy was signed at Westminster on 27 January 1599,[2] and Quyny was home early in February.[3] He presented his account of expenses, which came to £44. It includes fees to the Master of Requests and his men, the Queen's solicitor and his clerk, the officers of the Signet, and so forth. Personal items are as follows: 'My own diet in London 'eighteen weeks, in which I was sick a month; 'my mare at coming-up 14 days'—for horse-meat; 'another I bought there to bring me 'home 7 weeks; and I was six days going thither 'and coming homewards; all which cost me at 'the least £20.'[4] This account was allowed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and paid by warrant of 27 February at Richmond.[5]

[1] Misc. Doc. i. 140. [2] Wheler Papers, i. 44.

[3] He was eighteen weeks in London, from about 5 October, that is, until about 9 February. He was absent, however, from the Council meeting at Stratford on 23 February, and he may have departed again to London with his account for the Exchequer. [4] Misc. Doc. i. 137.

[5] Wheler Papers, i. 44.

§ 40. *Survey of the Chamber Estate, April 1599*

Richard Quyny attended a Council meeting at Stratford on 25 April, when he was appointed with others to make a survey of the Corporation property.[1] This was done on the 30th under the leadership of the Bailiff and Head Alderman (John Smith and Abraham Sturley) and the three senior aldermen (Adrian Quyny, Thomas Barber, and Nicholas Barnhurst). The report, in Sturley's handwriting,[2] gives us an idea of the ravages of the late fires and the reparations since. We read, for example, of Hamlet Sadler's house, which was in the High Street 'next the Corn Market',[3] at the corner of High Street and Sheep Street, 'A tenement on the Street [4] side containing four 'bays [5] tiled, on the north side of his yard a range 'of four bays, two old tiled, two new, burned 'and new set-up by him, thatched which should 'be tiled—he hath three years given him to tile 'it.' Being a baker it was important that he should comply with the order of the Council. The report continues, 'On the same land William 'Harding hath built new and tiled two bays with

[1] Council Book B, p. 60.
[2] Misc. Doc. xii. 54.
[3] *Calendar*, Leases, p. 607.
[4] High Street.
[5] A bay was a division of the roof, consisting of the space covered by a pair of crossing ribs.

'a fair chimney. The old house in his own 'tenure wanteth tiling. It boundeth on the 'back-side to Master George Badger's house'— in Sheep Street. Next door to Sadler's in the High Street was John Fisher's house, 'on the 'Street side containing four bays tiled, on the 'back-side a range on the north part new-built 'of two bays tiled; that side wanteth yet of the 'former building before the fire four bays, the 'other side wanteth a range of five bays; it 'rangeth in length to Master George Badger's 'house-side. The executors' (of Master George Whateley deceased) 'have from *anno quadra-* '*gesimo* (*Elizabethe*) six years liberty to re-edify 'all the rest which is decayed by fire, *videlicet* 'seven bays.' Higher up the Street, 'Master 'Daniel Baker holdeth a tenement on the Street 'side containing two bays tiled, and a range on 'the south side of five bays tiled, at the end of 'the yard a cross-house of three bays thatched 'without that in the yard, a new building of one 'bay thatched on the north side of the yard next 'the Street-house, a low lean-to over the well 'tiled, on the back-side a garden ranging in 'breadth answerable to the Street-house, in length 'unto Master Quyny's garden.' Apparently the Quyny's house was next door to Alderman Baker's on the south. In Sheep Street the greater part

THE HOUSE OF WILLIAM PARSONS

Built after the Fire of 1594

of the dwelling of William Rogers, one of the Serjeants-at-the-Mace, and the west side of Gilbert Charnock's house had been 'consumed with fire'. Humfrey Wheeler's house in Ely Street was reported 'newly re-edified'—so were the dwellings of Master Parsons and his three next neighbours in Wood Street, but Widow Burdett's house in the same street was still incomplete, her friends requiring assurance of 'a competent term of years' in the renewal of her lease. Of himself Sturley reported, 'Abraham Sturley hath set up 'of new twelve bays; he hath and must cover 'new with tile sixteen bays'—a house of considerable dimensions, probably the present 6 Wood Street, with King James's initials in the ceiling of the front room on the ground-floor. In Middle Row William Greenway had 'new builded all except one bay', an energetic woollen-draper who reconstructed a number of small shops as one.

§ 41. *Quyny's Further Labours in 1599*

Richard Quyny attended Council meetings on 12 June[1] and 29 August 1599. At the latter meeting Nicholas Barnhurst for a second time was removed from the aldermanship, 'for his

[1] Council Book B, p. 61.

great abuse offered to the whole company'.[1] The vote was overwhelming and irrevocable. Barnhurst was present, for the last time. On 5 September Francis Smith (son of Shakespeare's godfather) was elected in his stead. This day, 5 September, William Parsons was chosen Bailiff;[2] but Sir Edward Greville in the exercise of his veto objecting, another candidate, John Sadler, was sworn on 5 October.[3] The arbitrary action of the lord of the manor only strengthened the determination of the Council to resist him.

Quyny's labours on behalf of the Corporation this year appear in his account of expenses defrayed on 11 January 1600. He says, 'I have 'laid forth for the copy of Master Perrott's will, '3*s.* 4*d.*'—Robert Perrott died in March 1589,[4] after bequeathing to the Stratford Corporation £40 in lieu of his fines for refusing to obey their orders and take the office of baily;[5] for the 'copy of Humfrey Brace's will, 3*s.* 10*d.*'—a mercer in Chapel Street, who by his will of 18 May 1591 left £5 to the poor of Stratford, £6 10*s.* to the Chamber in payment of balance due from his accompt as Chamberlain, and £5 to Adrian

[1] Council Book B, p. 61.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 62.
[3] *Ib.*, pp. 63, 64.
[4] At Nether Quinton, where he was buried on the 24th.
[5] Council Book A, pp. 137–9.

Quyny for unpaid debt;[1] 'for the search and 'copying out of Master Barker's lease, 6*s.* 8*d.*'—of the Tithes, made by Anthony Barker, warden of the College of Stratford, to his brother William Barker 7 September 1544, a moiety of which lease was afterwards purchased by Shakespeare; 'at my last being about the Chancel I spent four 'days, 10*s.*, and given to Sir John Fortescue's 'men 13*s.* 4*d.*; I spent about Master Underhill's 'matter, as by Master Chadwick's bill appeareth, '14*s.* 10*d.*'—William Underhill had not paid his tithe-rent, and recently was deceased, 7 July 1597,[2] having been poisoned by his son Fulke, a young man in his nineteenth year, who was executed at Warwick on 21 March 1599;[3] 'I 'gave to Master Goodman and Master Dyot[4] for 'moving my Lord Keeper, Master Dyot attending 'the last day of term'—28 November 1599, 'and 'could not be heard, the other moving in my 'Lord's chamber the second day after the term's 'end when he got the crier, 20*s.*'—the Lord Keeper being Sir Thomas Egerton,[5] who granted

[1] P. C. C. 10 Harrington. He was buried at Stratford on 26 May (*Register*, p. 47).

[2] He made his will at Filongley on 6 July, died next day, and was buried on the 13th at Idlicote (see *Register*).

[3] Sixpence was received by the churchwardens of St. Nicholas for the tolling of the great bell (*Accounts*, p. 104). His body was removed to Idlicote for interment.

[4] A. Dyot. Foss, v. 422.

[5] *Ib.*, v. 410.

to the Stratford Chamber the right to chose the town crier; 'I bestowed five days about this, '12*s.* 6*d.*; I employed my pains and labour about 'the regaining of the £24 paid into the Exchequer 'by Master Skinner'—Master John Skinner of Rowington, Exchequer commissioner, who had collected this amount of the subsidy from Stratford men and paid it in before the granting of the petition for their relief,[1] 'at 'my last going, for which I refer myself to 'your own allowance; I have made many jour- 'neys to Warwick, Alcester and other places in 'our town affairs, for which I never demanded 'or had any manner of allowance, neither the 'wearing of raiment in all these journeys have 'I accompted, besides many gifts of my own 'provision bestowed upon courtiers and others 'for the better effecting of our suits in hand. '*Summa* £38 6*s.* 2*d.*'[2]

Richard Quyny's son George, his last child, was baptized on 9 April 1600,[3] and may have had Master George Badger for godfather. This boy lived to take his degree at Oxford (from Balliol),

[1] P. 143. 'Granted but lost' (as was once feared) 'by those who, out of their too much home-bred wit, hinder every common good—of no better use than had I wist' (Misc. Doc. v. 120). Cf. Sturley's criticism of some of his colleagues, pp. 141 f., 153.

[2] Misc. Doc. i. 143; Council Book B, p. 67.

[3] *Register*, p. 63.

and to be assistant in turn to Master Aspinall as usher and to the Vicar as curate in Stratford before his untimely death at the age of twenty-four.[1]

§ 42. *Quyny's Third Sojourn in London, 1600*

On 23 April the old collector of the market tolls, William Fletcher, was pensioned off, on three shillings a week, and his post was given to the new town crier.[2] Fletcher died at midsummer, being buried on 26 June.[3] Sir Edward Greville claimed the bestowal of the office, as he had claimed that of the town crier's. He laid claim also to the toll corn. Here was further work for Quyny. At a meeting of the Council held on 26 September it was agreed that 'the whole company of Aldermen and Burgesses' should wait upon Sir Edward.[4] Three weeks later, on 21 October, a deputation was appointed to see him, consisting of the new Bailiff and Chief Alderman (Henry Wilson and John Smith), Thomas Barber, John Gibbs, Richard Quyny, Daniel Baker, and John Sadler, that they might 'grow to an end touching the disposing of the Toll'. The public-spirited yet very moderate

[1] P. 203.
[2] Council Book B, p. 69.
[3] *Register*, p. 64.
[4] Council Book B, p. 74.

and courteous resolution passed at the same time deserves to be quoted. If there were stormy and impossible persons on the Council, the majority understood statecraft. 'It is agreed that Sir 'Edward Greville his answer concerning matters 'in controversy between him and us should be 'as followeth: First, that we desire his love and 'favour by all means we may (our oaths reserved), 'and to this we crave his grant. Secondly, we 'desire our reference to two Judges, and have for 'us named the Lord Chief Justice of England'— below—'and desire him (Sir Edward Greville) 'to nominate another, and by their judgments 'if it (the toll corn) be granted his, we will yield. 'And if he will further strive, we say we will 'labour by all the friends we can make to acquaint 'our cause, our offers and desires, and so an end 'by all loving means or device we can. In the 'meanwhile we all agree, that if Sir Edward do 'not grant hereunto, we to hold our own posses-'sion and so seek our best help by law.' [1]

In London some time afterwards,[2] Richard Quyny wrote to Thomas Greene (who was then Solicitor to the Stratford corporation) enclosing a written request for his advice from the Bailiff. 'My want of good health,' he said, 'letteth my 'coming to you at this time. I pray you, be at

[1] Council Book B, p. 75. [2] June 1601.

'home after supper'—for an interview with Sadler if not with himself—'and in mean time 'I beseech you think of our motion by this 'occasion and by Sir Edward Greville's words, 'of which you are not ignorant: *Sir, what I urge 'dare (not) go against me*; then, *my Lord Anderson 'was his uncle*'—Sir Edmund Anderson being Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.[1] 'I pray 'your care, though in regard of your conscionable 'feeling I need no such entreaty. I leave it to 'you and us all in the Lord.'[2] Shakespeare's friend had a high regard for Shakespeare's kinsman, knowing him to be a man of conscience as well as of judgement.

In his search for records in London, Quyny had the help of his friend Sturley's son, Henry, usher at the Free School.[3] In a note of out-of-pocket expenses during the Michaelmas Term (which ended on 28 November) Quyny writes, 'I received of Master Sadler 20*s*. My own 'charges and horse about our town's business 'came to 15*s*. 8*d*. I gave one by Master Bailiff's 'appointment, 5*s*. I paid for a book delivered 'to the Chamberlains' (John Smith and Daniel Baker) '2*s*. 2*d*. I accompt no charges up or 'down' (from London) 'but leave it to your 'discretions. I spent in my last journey in

[1] Foss, v. 407.
[2] Misc. Doc. i. 122.
[3] Pp. 39, 51, 92, 120 f.

'searching records for our town's causes, 15*s.* 7*d.* 'S(adler's), mine own and Henry Sturley's 'charges 6*s.* 6*d.*'[1]

Quyny was home again by 17 December[2] and thus spared the fate of a third Christmas away from his family. But a yet more difficult task, the most strenuous of his life, awaited him.

§ 43. *Battle Royal with the Lord of the Manor*

On 7 July 1600 died Sir Thomas Lucy, the honoured servant of the Queen and faithful friend of Stratford. His funeral was 'worshipfully solemnised', Camden tells us, who attended as Clarencieux, at Charlecote on 7 August, Parson Hill of Hampton Lucy preaching the sermon.[3] The removal of this powerful neighbour and colleague in the magistracy was Sir Edward Greville's opportunity. Early in the new year, 1601, he made open war on the Corporation. On the principle often followed by Protestant landowners, of claiming everything in the hope that something might be substantiated, he enclosed the Town commons, including the Bankcroft, the ancient pasture on the right bank of the Avon whose use had been the subject of strict regulations from time to time by the Council.[4]

[1] Misc. Doc. i. 138. [2] Council Book B, p. 77.

[3] Funeral Certificates.

[4] *Minutes and Accounts*, I. 31, 42, 56, 82 f, 89, 93, 106, 117.

This was a challenge to violence, which the Town fathers were not slow to accept. On Wednesday 21 January Bailiff Wilson and Chief Alderman Smith, with John Sadler, Daniel Baker, Richard Quyny, and Shakespeare's friend, Henry Walker the mercer, armed with mattocks, shovels, and spades, broke into the Bankcroft, levelled the hedges and mounds, drove in 'horses, oxen, kine, swine and hoggerels', and 'then and there', in the language of Sir Edward, 'did depasture, tread 'down and consume to the value of forty shillings; 'and forty willows did lop and the wood thereof '(six loads to the value of six pounds) took and 'carried away, and other enormities to him did 'do' in the other enclosures, 'contrary to the 'peace of our Sovereign, to the damage of £40.'[1] Next day they carried off the toll corn, taking however no toll of Sir Edward's corn in the market, his man having dared any one put his hand into the sacks 'on the risk of leaving it behind him'.[2] Arrested for riot these leaders were conveyed to the Marshalsea, to be released immediately on bail. Memoranda drawn up by Quyny on 22 January at Stratford on Sir Edward Greville's case against himself and his fellow burgesses, contains a paragraph worth quoting headed 'Remember mine own business'. It is

[1] Misc. Doc. ix. 20. [2] *Ib.*, v. 20.

as follows : ' R(ichard) Q(uyny) leaseth to S(imon) ' B(iddle) a messuage J(ohn) R(ogers) hath goods ' in and in it at his own pleasure he can have ' the coals, but with the street key he locks in ' S(imon) B(iddle) the lessee ; after that unlocks ' the door again, and himself and wife, with a son ' and two daughters (or one daughter), take the ' same S(imon) B(iddle) and thrust him out of ' his possession ; and so the said J(ohn) R(ogers) ' locketh up the door and takes away the key '—a complicated question of tenant-right and neighbourly amenity.[1] ' The same R(ichard) Q(uyny) ' leaseth to G(eorge) B(adger) [2] a barn *etcetera*. ' R(ichard) Q(uyny) leaseth to C(icely) B(aynton) ' a curtilage, R(ichard) C(ollins) keepeth it from ' him without rent paying '—a family matter which found its way into the Court of Record : Cicely Palmer, after the death of her first husband, William Baynton, in June 1595, married Richard

[1] I have ventured to give names to the initials. Simon Biddle was an old cutler who lived for many years in the High Street, in the house occupied in 1595 by Daniel Baker. He probably removed to a small dwelling next door to John Rogers in Church Street. He buried his wife on 11 November 1598 and died himself in November 1602. John Rogers married the daughter of Alderman Robert Salisbury and lived in his father-in-law's house (two small houses thrown into one) in Church Street. He married again twice, and had a son John aged 23, and daughters Katharine and Margaret aged 19 and 17, in January 1601.

[2] Pp. 114 ff.

Collins and expected to live rent free as when she was the wife of Quyny's step-brother;[1] 'remember E. T.'s lease; the amercement in 'Ely Street; remember Master Hall of Esberryes; 'remember William Walford's leases; speak with 'Master Matthews, and with Bess Quyny con-'cerning a maid.'[2] Bess Quyny, of course, was his wife. From Master Hall of Esbury John Shakespeare purchased the western part of his house in Henley Street in 1575.

§ 44. *The Rising of the Earl of Essex, 8 February 1601*

Quyny's brief association with the Marshalsea coincided with a critical moment in the reign of Elizabeth. The Hilary term, during which he was preparing his defence against Sir Edward Greville, interviewing Thomas Greene and Master Wilkinson, the attorney in London to the Stratford Corporation, and waiting with Thomas Greene on Sir Edward Coke three days together but unable to see him because of state troubles, lasted from 23 January to 12 February. On Saturday 7 February young bloods in the faction of the Earl of Essex, after dinner at Gunter's over against Temple Gate, crossed the water to witness Shakespeare's *King Richard the Second* at

[1] Misc. Doc. iii. 69. [2] Misc. Doc. v. 20.

the Globe. They had asked for this tragedy (though the players thought it rather out of date) because of the scene (omitted in the quarto editions of 1597 and 1598) of the deposing of the king. Queen Elizabeth was sensitive on the subject of deposition, was failing in health and courage, missed desperately the wise and firm counsel of Lord Burghley, and spoke of herself as 'King Richard'.[1] Shakespeare's play condemns deposition. Nobody with a touch of the artist in him could interpret it as supporting usurpation. For this reason, probably, Shakespeare and his fellows consented to perform it when offered forty shillings 'extraordinary'. But the young gentlemen, full of the Earl's secret design and full probably of wine, paid their money and witnessed the drama, and next morning took part in the mad attempt to seize the City and intimidate the Court. They speedily found themselves in prison, from which they were not released on bail nor, some of them, with their heads;[2] and Richard Quyny and Thomas Greene waited in vain for an interview with Sir Edward Coke—or as they called him, properly, Sir Edward Cooke.

[1] *Outlines*, ii. 359.

[2] Examination of Sir Gilly Merrick, 17 February, and others (*Outlines*, ii. 359 ff.); *State Trials*, i. 1445; *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxxi. 147, 149, 159 ff.

Quyny was back in Stratford by 27 February,[1] with first-hand news of what had happened in the metropolis and answers more or less reassuring to anxious inquiries about Shakespeare.[2] He presented his 'accompt of his London journey then made'.[3] In this accompt we read: 'I paid in 'our Town's affairs as followeth. To Master 'Wilkinson our attorney for appearing to both our 'writs, for all six names'—John Smith, John Sadler, Daniel Baker, Henry Walker, Henry Wilson, and himself—'his fees (though he said he 'might ask 20*s.* of each) 6*s.* 8*d.*; for the two 'bails, 18*d.* a bail, 3*s.*; for the copy of our 'declaration 4*d.*, *summa* 10*s.* To Master Greene 'our solicitor for his pains, 10*s.*; more which he 'laid out in the search of records for us, 3*s.* 4*d.*; 'paid for the copy of Sir Edward Greville his 'last patent so much as did concern us, 8*s.* Given 'to one of Master Cooke his clerks, and his door-'keeper, that we might have access to their master 'for his counsel, upon whom the said clerk 'Master Greene and myself did often attend—'Master Morgan,[4] Master Greene and myself three 'days together—but could not have him at leisure

[1] Council Book B, p. 79.

[2] Shakespeare and his company were soon out of trouble. They performed at Court on Shrove Tuesday, 24 February.

[3] Misc. Doc. v. 148.

[4] F. Morgan. Foss, v. 422.

'by the reason of these troubles, 2*s*., *summa* '23*s*. 4*d*. Paid for the copy of our privy seal in 'Master Fanshawe his office 5*s*. Item I paid for 'Master Baker's diet when he travelled with me 'to Master Attorney 10*d*. I gave Master Greene 'a pint of muscadel and a roll of bread that last 'morning I went to have his company to Master 'Attorney 7*d*. For mine own charges I leave to 'your discretion for both my journeys to London' —to and from. 'Item there was laid out of 'Master John Smith to Master Morgan 10*s*., for 'two citations and the proxies 13*s*. 4*d*.'

§ 45. *Quyny's Labours and Difficulties, April to September 1601*

Quyny was present at meetings of the Council in Stratford on 24 April [1] and 20 May.[2] About this time he rode with Sturley to Worcester, no doubt to interview a friendly official at the Bishop's court. His account runs: 'Myself and 'my brother Sturley went to Worcester, where 'our diet cost the first night 20*d*., the morning 'our breakfast 16*d*. I gave Ferdinando Morris, 'whom we sent to Warwick another time, 12*d*.' [3] On 7 June the Council petitioned the Commis-

[1] Council Book B, p. 80. [2] *Ib*.

[3] Misc. Doc. i. 146. Morris was Sturley's nephew: p. 52.

sioners for Musters for relief from various charges on account of the poverty and distress in the borough. 'Our poor', they said, 'are in number 'seven hundred and odd, young and old'.[1] Evidence of the wretchedness in the town is afforded by the increase of bastardy and crime. The violent scenes on the Bankcroft had not made for law and order. We read in the registers of the burial on 3 March of 'Thomas Pretty slain', on 25 March of 'an infant found dead in Clopton Leasowes', on 27 April of 'Thomas Bailes, slain at the sign of the *Swan* 'upon the Sabbath day at the time of the 'Sermon being there drinking'.[2] Illegitimate children were baptized on 21 May, 8 June, 8 July.[3]

In the Trinity Term, which lasted from 12 June to 1 July, Quyny was in London for the defence of the Council against Greville. He took with him a declaration, in his own handwriting, of their case drawn up by the Steward, Master John Jeffreys, in consultation with four of the oldest inhabitants—Adrian Quyny, Thomas Barber, John Shakespeare, and Simon Biddle. The Poet's father was about seventy-three years of age and had only a few weeks to live. We read with

[1] Misc. Doc. v. 157.
[2] *Register*, p. 65.
[3] *Register*, p. 65.

peculiar pleasure the document which testifies to his continued interest in borough and even national affairs. In it is a statement, in support of the Council's contention that the bestowal of the office of toll-gatherer was in their keeping, to the effect that the late Lord Treasurer Burghley once 'wrote in the behalf of a man of his to the 'Bailiff and his brethren, which letter is extant; 'and of the Lord Treasurer's wisdom and know-'ledge therein let them judge that knew him'.[1]

The Bailiff, Henry Wilson, a whittawer, wrote to Quyny in London on 17 June:

'Sir, my purpose was to have seen you myself 'at this time but am hindered by unexpected 'business fallen out sithence your departure: 'which for brevity sake and this bearer's haste 'I do overpass until our next meeting. In the 'meantime I doubt not of your due care of our 'common matters, referring the ordering and 'disposing of them unto your discretion and the 'advice of our Counsel, but for one special 'point: I pray you, remember, that if you 'perceive that we shall have a trial at the next 'Assizes, to get the Court moved that Master 'Undersheriff[2] have not the return of our jury, 'neither the High Sheriff:[3] for upon occasion

[1] Misc. Doc. v. 20. [2] Robert Burdett?

[3] Sir Thomas Lucy the Second, who was not so friendly to Stratford as his greatly respected father.

'lately happened, myself and some other of our 'Company were with him, but find no hope 'of favour at his hands, but rather have cause 'to fear his displeasure.

'Yet for my coming-up, if there be so great 'necessity of it that I may not be spared, then 'let me know and, God willing, I will come up 'and lay all other business to sleep. Moreover, 'you shall receive of this bearer the sum of 'forty shillings, which I thought good to 'send because I know not your store nor your 'occasions.

'Your wife and household are in good 'health, God be praised. And so for haste I 'break off, committing you to God. Your loving 'friend.'[1]

In a postscript the Bailiff adds: 'Also con-'cerning my own private matter which must be 'handled at the next Assizes, I pray you think of 'it when you take counsel for other matters, 'that I be not too short in anything.'[2]

Quyny was at home in July ready for the Assizes. On 22 July Greene sent him the panel of the jury, together with the copy of a deed

[1] Endorsed by old Adrian Quyny after his son's death, 'Master Henry Wilson his letter to my son concerning our Town's business'.

[2] Misc. Doc. i. 122.

and the promise of another, and his apology that he could not be present:

'Had not your Assizes fallen out in our Read-'ing, with great desire I would have left all other 'business apart and been glad to have bestowed 'my best endeavour for the rectifying of things; 'but seeing things stand as they do I most heartily 'crave pardon.'

He addresses the letter to his 'very loving and good friend'.[1]

Matters were not made easier, either for Wilson or Quyny, by the unseemly behaviour of the Head Alderman, Master John Smith, vintner. Sturley had expressed surprise at his capacity as bailiff in 1598.[2] He was now probably suffering from ill-health and the effects of his trade, as certainly he was anxious about his eldest son, Rafe, aged three-and-twenty. When he made his will on 5 November 1601 he left his wife (*née* Margaret Sadler) the use for life of the room called the New Chamber over the parlour at his tavern, with all the malting-rooms, and the rest of the house to his son, Rafe, 'provided he used himself 'well and kindly to his mother, otherwise if he 'evil behaved himself towards her he should be 'dispossessed', and 'the whole remain' to his

[1] Misc. Doc. i. 120 [2] Pp. 134, 141.

wife.[1] On 12 August this year, 1601, the Council dismissed him from the Head Aldermanship and from the body of aldermen for his abuse of the Bailiff and 'obstinate and wilful hindering of 'execution of process out of the Court of Record, 'detaining of the Serjeant's mace and keeping 'of the keys whereby the Company could not 'come by the Book of Orders for the perusing 'of certain leases '.[2] On 2 October, when Master Thomas Rogers and Henry Walker were sent to him for the mace for the Swearing-in, they brought back answer that they 'should not have it, and 'that he would spend twenty times more than 'the mace was worth before he left it '.[3]

In the meantime the case of Greville *versus* the Council was left, at the suggestion of the Bishop of Worcester (Gervase Babington), to arbitration. The Bishop visited Stratford this summer,[4] and was entertained by the Council at supper, it is interesting to note, at Master Smith's tavern, £2 being spent on the supper and 11*s.* 2*d.* on wine and sugar.[5] Was some discontent left in the vintner's mind after this conviviality? On 2 September the Council elected the indefatigable

[1] P. C. C. 54 Bolein. She was Hamlet Sadler's sister.
[2] Council Book B, p. 81. [3] *Ib.*, p. 84.
[4] St. Nicholas', Warwick, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, p. 109.
[5] Chamberlains' Accompt, 8 Jan. 1602.

Quyny Bailiff, the other candidates being Daniel Baker and Francis Smith. Six days afterwards they attended the funeral of Master John Shakespeare:

Septem. 8 M(agiste)r Johannes Shakspeare.[1]

We have a glimpse of the old gentleman in his shop in Henley Street, 'a merry cheeked old man 'that said, *Will is a good honest fellow, but he 'durst crack a jest with him at any time*'.[2]

On 16 September the Council passed a resolution 'that in our willingness to hold Sir Edward 'Greville's favourable goodwill, and to answer 'my Lord Bishop's honourable motion of peace 'betwixt him and our Town, and our duties in 'prosecuting the same peace, that Master John 'Jeffreys, Master Thomas Rogers, Master Abra-'ham Sturley, Master Daniel Baker, Master 'Francis and Master John Smith junior'—the baker—'or any four of them, should go to Sir 'Edward Greville to know his pleasure concern-'ing the points of this challenge or claim to 'anything that either is or may grow question-'able betwixt us: all which we desire may 'according to his worshipful promise and our 'consents be adjudged by the Judges on both 'sides chosen, as also to know the time he will

[1] *Register*, p. 66.

[2] Doctor Plume's MSS., vicar of Greenwich, (1630–1704).

'appoint, name his councillor for the delivery of 'his mind and to set down what security shall 'be upon both sides made for the performance 'of all such matters as are to be done and handled, 'that our love may be made perfect, which we 'humbly crave at his hands: especially, that he 'be moved in the matter concerning the Election 'of our Bailiff, we all agree they shall speak their 'minds to the purpose we all have concluded 'upon, that is to say, that we hold the choice to 'be in ourselves and cannot, in regard of our oaths 'whereby we be bound to maintain our privileges, 'grant to him any right in that choice.'[1]

Evidently Greville had again objected to the name of Richard Quyny. He knew he had no abler opponent. On 23 September Thomas Greene wrote to Quyny from the Middle Temple giving the opinion of the Attorney-General[2] as delivered in part to him the day before. 'Accord-'ing to the small leisure he then had he looked 'upon your book (of the case), and for the first 'proviso and toll resolved as your other lawyers 'have done. And for your Justices of Peace,[3] he 'saith they may only deal with matters which 'tend to the breach of the peace, and so referred

[1] Council Book B, p. 83.

[2] Sir Edward Coke: Foss, vi. 110 f.

[3] The Bailiff and High Alderman.

'me over until this morning; when I hoped to 'have been furnished for you by him at large 'and thereof to have now sent you word; but 'this morning here being very foul he is not (our 'horn having blown to dinner half an hour 'since) yet come to his chamber. So after 'dinner, God willing, I will wait upon him, and 'by the next convenient messenger certify you 'fully of such opinion he shall deliver me. . . . 'Your assured loving friend *pro posse suo*.' [1]

§ 46. *Quyny's Second Bailiwick, 1601–2*

On 2 October Quyny was duly sworn in his office, notwithstanding Sir Edward's objection, with John Sadler as his Principal Alderman,[2] and dined at the *Bear* at the foot of Bridge Street with Master Foster, Sir Edward's steward at the Leet, as his guest.[3]

With characteristic promptitude and vigour he addressed himself to the work in hand. At his first hall, on 15 October, called in spite of Master Jeffreys's inability to attend, headboroughs were appointed for each of the six wards and required to furnish a return next day of all new comers to the town ('inmates and their receivers'), and to supply a similar return every month. Quyny,

[1] Misc. Doc. i. 119. [2] Council Book B, p. 84.
[3] Chamberlains' Accompt, 8 Jan. 1602.

in the absence of the steward and his deputy, kept the minutes with his own hand, marking his old father absent *ex infirmitate*, and William Parsons absent *quia non audet venire*.[1] Why Alderman Parsons was afraid to appear is not obvious. Probably it was for the reason that he did not venture upon the bailiwick when the lord of the manor objected. Quyny again kept the minutes at a meeting on 21 October.[2] On the 24th Greene wrote to him from London with the Attorney-General's counsel—'that the office 'of baily may be exercised Sir Edward's consent 'not being had to the swearing. For the Toll 'and other questions he agreeth fully with the 'rest of your counsel, and therefore methinks 'you should rest settled in your minds and 'purposes for those things. He hath now had 'a third fee. Master Wilkinson[3] and myself 'think good you be here by Allhallowntide at 'the furthest. . . . If it may conveniently be bring 'your Charter with you.'[4]

But the Bailiff could not get away until the 5 November. Setting out with Henry Wilson, the late Bailiff, he reached Oxford the same night. Next day they rode to High Wycombe, where they baited, and thence to Uxbridge. The third

[1] Council Book B, p. 85.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] Pp. 173, 175.
[4] Misc. Doc. xii. 60.

day they arrived in London in time for dinner, putting up, we may assume, at the *Bell*, and having a fire lighted in their chamber. This was Saturday the 7th. On Sunday, which Quyny names *Sabaoth*,[1] Master Jeffreys, the Steward of the Stratford Council, dined with them at their inn. That day at Stratford, Master John Smith, the vintner, was buried. On Monday, Quyny spent a busy day at the *Bell*, entertaining Thomas Greene at breakfast, the proctor engaged by the Corporation at dinner, and friends after supper with sack. Fees of all kinds were paid. Tuesday was quieter. On Wednesday morning 'brother Bannister' called, otherwise our old friend, Nicholas Barnhurst of Stratford. Thomas Greene also came again. On Thursday, Quyny and Wilson took boat to Westminster to have the answer of the Corporation to Greville's complaint legally drawn up, and the writ renewed against Master Smith, now in his grave. Friends drank with them after supper, ale and *aqua vitae*. On Friday 13 November they began their return journey, paying for horsemeat and ostlers 9*s*. 9*d*., for fagots in their chamber, the chamberlain and other servants 5*s*. 6*d*., and for dinner before they started, 20*d*. The roads were hard with

[1] Tyndale writes *Saboth*, Sir Thomas More *Sabbaoth*: Parker Soc. iii. 97.

frost and their horses were frost-nailed. They reached Aylesbury that night. On Saturday they halted and baited at Banbury, then pushing on almost to Wellesbourne, spent the night with Master Jeffreys at Walton. On Sunday they reached home.[1]

The mace was recovered (in parts, first the shaft then the head) and the Serjeants (Edward Ainge and Gilbert Charnock) were able to execute precepts.[2] Meetings of the Council were held on the 2nd, 18th, and 30th of December,[3] the Bailiff himself keeping the minutes.[3] Memoranda in his handwriting of work to be done in the new year are eloquent of his industry and conscientiousness—'what we were best to 'do to Sir Edward Greville; the suits of our 'Town; how the money last borrowed may be 'repaid at our Accompt Day;[4] what leases be 'expired and how we may speediliest make some 'fines to bring ourselves out of debt; a view of 'our houses be taken; the leases for Trout's 'and Swan's houses be sealed; inmates, that the 'headboroughs take notice of them against our

[1] Chamberlains' Accompt, 8 Jan. 1602; Misc. Doc. v. 148.

[2] Chamberlains' Accompt, 7 Jan. 1603.

[3] Council Book B, p. 87 f.

[4] The Chamberlains presented their Accompt on 8 January 1602.

'next meeting; the poor, that a time be appointed to the collectors; John Walford's 'bastardy of Warwick; look up the counterpain 'of Master Lane's indenture for the muckhills, 'and see what evidences we can find for our 'Gild; to draw all our townsmen into companies;[1] a sale be made of trees for present 'money; order be taken for our tipplers; that 'Francis Bellairs and Nicholas Lane be sent for 'concerning their disorder; my brother Sturley 'be dealt with concerning Mace's deed, whether 'he brought it in, and all others that have writings concerning the Chamber bring them in 'against our Accompt Day; my cousin Biddle's 'deeds,[2] whether we be to receive 3*s.* 4*d.* or not; 'wood and coal money, how it is bestowed; 'perfect all our accompts at the Accompt Day.'[3] The distress in the borough and immorality—there were four funerals of bastard children between the 26 November and 30 January[4]—the incoming of undesirable strangers, and the drinking and quarrelling in the ale-houses—'a 'horse lock to the Gaol Hall and a padlock for 'the Stocks 16*d.*', is a significant entry in the

[1] P. 113. [2] Pp. 172, 177.

[3] Misc. Doc. i. 142. These notes were made on 30 December 1601.

[4] *Register*, p. 66.

Chamberlains' Accompt[1]—the weakening authority of the occupations or trade-gilds, the debts and suits of the Corporation constituted a formidable programme.

A pleasant break in all this labour is suggested by an invitation on Christmas Eve from Sir Fulke Greville to the Bailiff and his brethren to make merry with him at Beauchamp's Court. 'Sir,' writes his secretary, Edward Worthington, to Quyny, 'myself being hindered by many occa-
'sions from coming to you this day, I must
'entreat you to accept of these few lines as
'a message from my Master, showing his desire
'to see you, and some other his good friends
'with you, sometime this Christmas. I hope it
'shall not need for me in particular to solicit
'every man in this kind or otherwise by any
'other messenger than by yourself and your
'good means, whose aid I do earnestly pray
'herein, as also to understand by this bearer the
'day you purpose of coming, because I would
'willingly take such course as no day ought to
'be passed idly without some good company.
'You may do well to bring the good company
'that accompanied you to Warwick, that they
'may see for whom they travailed, and my
'Master understand who hath so well deserved

[1] Presented 8 January 1602.

'his love and to acknowledge the same. And 'thus with my kind remembrance and love to 'yourself, I rest your assured loving friend.'[1]

Evidently the Stratford men had rendered their old Recorder good service, and the relationship between them (notwithstanding William Wyatt's grumble of 12 January 1599 that Sir Fulke did nothing for his forty shillings' fee[2]) was very cordial. In striking contrast with Edward Worthington's letter is a communication from Sir Edward Greville's servant at Milcote, Robin Whitney. It was addressed 'to Master Richard Quyny, Bailiff of the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon, give these with speed'. Its urgent character appears from the contents: 'Master 'Quyny, I have taken an occasion to write unto 'you for that I understand you are incensed 'against me, as I think without cause; but 'whether it be or no, I am sure I have received 'the wrong. For some of your Brotherhood,[3] 'whether by your consent I cannot absolutely say, 'have been with Sir Edward Greville my Master,

[1] Misc. Doc. i. 118.

[2] Chamberlains' Accompt: 'Sor Fowlke Greville for nothing xl^{s}.' Wyatt's English and spelling are provincial: 'Yeaton (Eaton), horness, hondard, Storley, Shattery, whome (home).' For Sturley's remarks about him see pp. 141 f., 153 f.

[3] Of the Council.

'and made a great complaint of me. But I do 'not greatly respect what any man shall say 'against me, for my carriage shall try itself. 'Were it not in regard of my love and dutiful 'service towards my Master, and that I would 'be loth to offend him in the least, some of those 'complainants should find that Whitney would 'not put up the least wrong offered by them. 'For your own part, I think you make no ques- 'tion of my former love towards you; but 'howsoever you are now persuaded of me I know 'not, but give me my due and I think you 'cannot think amiss of me. I must not come to 'expostulate matters with you, for that I am 'informed that *you have the good a-barring* '*against me*. It will *make me so much the better* '*husband to forbear your house*. I know *you do* '*it altogether for my good*. I would willingly, an 'it were possible, to know from where all the 'malice doth proceed: I am sure not from either 'of our natures. If I might have a protection 'from yourself, I would willingly speak with 'you; if it may not be granted, I will rest 'contented. I would have written more at 'large unto you but my leisure will not permit 'me. So in haste I take my leave. Milcote, 'this Thursday at night. Your friend as be- 'fore, if he be used accordingly.' He adds

a postscript: 'I pray you, let me receive an answer from you as soon as you may conveniently.'[1]

It is a pity we are not informed what Thursday this was in Quyny's bailiwick. I suspect that it fell in the spring of 1602, and that the letter is evidence of danger gathering about the intrepid bailiff's head. If not 'passion's slave' he was nevertheless a very human person and, as this epistle proves, might not shrink, in spite of his office, from inflicting chastisement on one whom he had reason to believe a knave. Master Robin Whitney had been warned to keep out of his way. On the other hand, the lord of the manor's servant evidently could take precautions and give an account of himself if necessary.

§ 47. *The Bailiff's Death*

On the Accompt Day (8 January) the Council voted to Quyny the toll corn (which Sir Edward Greville claimed) 'towards his great charges, that he is and shall be at'.[2] On 3 February he presided, as usual, at the Hall.[3] Then we hear nothing of him until the Fair on Monday the 3rd of May, when as Bailiff he kept the toll-book

[1] Misc. Doc. i. 123.
[2] Council Book B, p. 88.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 89.

of horses sold and exchanged.[1] Four weeks later he was in his grave, a few days after the burial of his neighbour, Master Richard Woodward of Shottery. We read in the register:

1602 May 25 Richardus woodward, gent.
31 M(aste)r Richard Quiny, Bailey of Stretforde.[2]

Master Woodward confirmed his will (made on 26 February 1601) on 22 May 1602, and sealed it on 26 May,[3] probably the correct date of his interment. Like that of his father-in-law, Master Perrott, his will is Puritan in language and sentiment.[4] 'Considering', it runs, 'the 'frailty of human nature and the uncertainty of 'life in this world, (I) do ordain (as followeth).... 'I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty 'God, nothing doubting of my salvation, only 'by the merits, death and passion of Jesus Christ 'my Saviour and Redeemer, and my body to the 'earth from whence it came.' He bequeathes £100 to his daughter Elizabeth, which shall be increased to £300 'if she do marry with the advice, consent and good liking of' his overseers, 'Richard Verney, John Temple and William 'Combe, esquires.' Elizabeth was eighteen in May 1602, and must not marry wilfully, as her

[1] Misc. Doc. vii. 30.
[2] P. 67.
[3] P. C. C. 42 Montague.
[4] P. 38.

sister Susanna had done. A younger daughter, Frances, aged thirteen, was to receive £100 and the interest on it upon her marriage, if she likewise followed the advice of the overseers. Susanna's boy, Richard Tyler, as already said, was to have £5 a year to keep him at the University. He was ten years old. Judith, Susanna's married sister, wife of Richard Abraham, had evidently pleased her father. Her children were left £20 apiece, and her husband was made an executor and residuary legatee. Esther, also, who had wedded according to her father's wishes, was to receive £200 over and above her marriage portion. Ezechias (who is not mentioned in the will) had inherited his grandfather Robert Perrott's manor of Luscombe near Snitterfield, in 1589, soon after leaving Oxford, and was now the father of an Ezechias, ten years old, who when eight years older, on 16 June 1610, matriculated at Oxford from Balliol.[1] Younger brothers of Ezechias senior are sternly reprimanded in their father's testament. John, aged twenty-five, is left an estate, including the Parsonage House, in Butler's Marston, on the understanding that he 'reform his manners and course of life and 'prove forwardly and thrifty' and be 'thought worthy' by the overseers 'to succeed' the testator

[1] *Register of the University*, ii. 2. 311.

in the property.[1] Richard is similarly warned. He was recently from Oxford, twenty-three years old, having taken his degree from Balliol in June 1599.[2] He shall have £300; and another £200, and the reversion of the Butler's Marston estate, if he 'alter and change his course of life, and be deemed a reformed man.'[3] It does not look as if the strict Perrott-Woodward discipline had been altogether a success.

Unfortunately we have not Richard Quyny's will. It would doubtless have thrown interesting light on his domestic affairs, and on a household more attractive than that of Master Woodward.

Both interments, we may be sure, were within the Church. On 31 May the Council would attend in force. Never before had a bailiff died during his term of office. On the day of the funeral Master John Gibbs was elected Bailiff in Quyny's stead. Nearly every member was present at the choosing, including the old father, Adrian Quyny, present for the first time in seven months. Abraham Sturley kept the minutes.[4]

[1] He died, apparently on a visit to his brother, at Nether Quinton on 26 April 1612, and was buried at Stratford on the 28th or 29th (Quinton and Stratford Registers).

[2] *Register of the University*, ii. 3. 215.

[3] P. C. C. 42 Montague.

[4] Council Book B, p. 89.

What was the cause of the Bailiff's death? His health was probably not good. We remember the long illness in London in the winter of 1598–9,[1] his 'want of good health' in June 1601[2] and Sturley's coddling, unwholesome advice to keep himself warm and take good burned wine or *aqua vitae*, and ale strongly mingled, without bread for a toast.[3] We remember also his excessive labours. But Whitney's letter leaves a nasty taste behind it. We should like to know more of the May Fair, especially in view of a cryptic entry in the Chamberlain's account: 'Paid for '2 quarts of sack and 2 quarts of Rhenish wine 'that Master Bailiff', i.e. Master Gibbs, 'did 'give unto Master Verney and to Master William 'Combes *when the rogues were taken at Clifford 'Barn*, 4*s*.'[4]

§ 48. *Richard Quyny and 'Horatio'*

News of his friend's death doubtless reached Thomas Greene in London not later than 8 June, when the Chamberlain, Francis Smith the younger, paid him there 10*s*. for work for the Council.[5] It would reach Shakespeare soon afterwards. In the autumn he was probably engaged

[1] P. 160. [2] P. 168 f. [3] P. 147 f.

[4] Accompt, 7 January 1603. The 'rogues', of course, may have had nothing to do with Quyny's death. [5] *Ib.*

on *Hamlet* (in its second form) and *All's Well that Ends Well*. They are companion plays, with their contrasted hero and heroine, the types for all time of ineffective and effective action. The loss of a father is a prominent feature in both dramas—Hamlet's father, Bertram's father, Helena's father. John Shakespeare's death and his memory left their mark on this filial devotion. Hardly less prominent in *Hamlet* is the attachment of friendship. Was Shakespeare thinking of his old comrade and contemporary, who addressed him as his 'loving good friend' and 'loving countryman', when he wrote the lines:

> Horatio, thou art e'en as just a man
> As e'er my conversation coped withal.
> Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice
> And could of men distinguish, her election
> Hath seal'd thee for herself; for thou hast been
> As one in suffering all that suffers nothing;
> A man that Fortune's buffets and rewards
> Hast ta'en with equal thanks; and blest are those
> Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled
> That they are not a pipe for Fortune's finger
> To sound what stop she please. Give me that man
> That is not passion's slave and I will wear him
> In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart,
> As I do thee.[1]

[1] III. ii. 59 f., 68 ff. The lines 59 f. are in the Quarto of 1603 (entered at Stationers' Hall 26 July 1602), the lines 68 ff. in the Quarto of 1604.

Richard Quyny, at any rate, was an Horatio in fidelity. Blood and judgement were well mingled in his nature. He had experienced the buffets and rewards of Fortune, we can well believe, 'with equal thanks', suffering hardship as if he 'suffered nothing'.[1]

Aubrey, in his confused fashion, blending valuable information with worthless hearsay, tells us that Shakespeare's 'father was a butcher; and 'I have been told heretofore by some of the 'neighbours that when he was a boy he exercised 'his father's trade, but when he killed a calf 'he would do it in a high style and make a speech.[2] 'There was at that time another butcher's son 'in this town' (Stratford) 'that was held not 'at all inferior to him for a natural wit' (in intellectual gifts), 'his acquaintance and coe-'tanean, but died young.'[3] John Shakespeare

[1] Did the Quyny arms and crest suggest the lines?—

> He, whose sable arms,
> Black as his purpose, did the night resemble,
> Hath now this dread and black complexion smear'd
> With heraldry more dismal; head to foot
> Now is he total gules, horridly trick'd
> With blood (*Hamlet*, II. ii. 474 f., 476 ff.).

See cover.

[2] He certainly could *write* in youthful style of a calf being led to slaughter, see 3 *Hen.* VI. iii. 1, 210–18: whence, perhaps, this nonsense (Elton, *Shakespeare, His Family and Friends*, p. 350).

[3] *Outlines*, ii. 70.

was not a butcher, though he had to do with skins; nor was Adrian Quyny, though he dealt in provisions; and Richard Quyny did not die young, if at the outset of a remarkable career, but there can be little doubt that he was the friend referred to.

§ 49. *Conclusion*

What followed Richard Quyny's death is beyond the scope of this volume, but a few words may be added about his family. His old father lived until 1607, maintaining to the last his interest in the Council.[1] He died full of years, having seen five reigns and taken part in every borough matter since the granting of the Charter in 1553, a veritable patriarch. Richard Quyny's widow survived him thirty years, being buried on 15 October 1632.[2] She outlived most of her children. Elizabeth, her eldest daughter, married a mercer from Leicestershire, William Chandler, on 8 November 1603,[3] becoming stepmother to his three-year-old boy, also named William, who matriculated at Oxford on 9 May 1617 from Lincoln College and graduated in February 1622.[4]

[1] His last 'hall' was that of 9 January (Council Book B, p. 143). He was buried on 7 March (*Register*, p. 73).

[2] *Register*, p. 121.

[3] *Register* p. 21.

[4] *Register of the University*, ii. 2. 361, 3. 404.

She died before the stepson went to the University, in 1615.[1] Her husband married again and had a large family by his third wife. He did well in Stratford, and retired to Milcote about 1640.[2] Mistress Quyny's eldest son, Adrian, apparently lived with his mother in the old home of his father and grandfather. He was sixteen when his father died, twenty-one when his grandfather died, and thirty-one when he himself died in 1617. He married on 7 May 1613 Eleanor Bushell, who died in November 1616, being buried on the 18th. Adrian Quyny made his will on 28 June 1617,[3] bequeathing all his possessions to his mother and his brother-in-law, William Smyth, ' to be disposed at their pleasure '. He was buried on 11 October. From the inventory of his goods, made 20 October by his brother-in-law William Chandler and Shakespeare's friend Henry Walker, we learn that his wearing apparel was valued at the high figure of £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, and his bedding at the yet higher figure of £10. Among his goods was a ' parcel of lace, books, and old implements ' together valued at 10*s.* William Chandler owed him £50. This was a ' good debt '. Among ' debts uncertain to be got ' was £40

[1] Buried 22 May (*Register*, p. 88).

[2] After the burial of his son, Francis, at Stratford on 7 May 1640.

[3] Will and Inventory are at Worcester, no. 174[b].

owing by Henry Bushell, a kinsman, perhaps brother-in-law of the deceased, who died the following summer, being buried 22 July 1618 ('Master Harry Bushell, gentleman'), and £30 due from Sir Edward Greville, who thus by non-payment of an old and accumulated debt (through some legal defect in the claim) may have had his revenge on the Quyny household.[1] The next son, Richard, Richard Quyny the Third, the writer of the Latin letter to his father,[2] went to London and prospered as a grocer. He and his brother-in-law (he married John Sadler's sister, Eleanor)[3] were in partnership at the Red Lion, Bucklersbury. He had thirteen children, born in the years 1619–34, eleven in London and two in Stratford, of whom three died before him.[4] He seems to have resided in Stratford in the last years of his mother's life (his children, Adrian and Susanna were baptized in Stratford Church in 1630 and 1631,[5] and his mother was buried there in 1632) and subsequently. He and his partner presented a silver mace to the Stratford Chamber in 1632.[6] He buried his wife on 4 November 1654, and made his will on 16 August

[1] Pp. 129, 145. [2] P. 133.
[3] On 27 Aug. 1618 (*Register*, p. 29).
[4] Register of St. Stephen's, Walbrook.
[5] *Register*, pp. 114, 116. [6] Council Book C, p. 61.

1655.[1] Part of his estate was property in Virginia, which he left to his son Thomas, with his share in a ship called *The Seven Sisters*. Adrian succeeded him in London, a third son, William (who resided at Shottery), in Stratford. He was buried in Stratford Church on 23 May 1656.[2] His sister Anne (Anne Hathaway's godchild) married on 2 May 1614 [3] William Smith, son of John Smith, and died in November 1630.[4] William (the second godson of William Shakespeare) settled in Henley in Arden, and true to his family traditions served the town in a public capacity. He was Taster in 1622–3, Constable in 1627–8, and one of the Twelve Men of the Court Leet in 1629. He was a freeholder under the manor in 1637.[5] Mary (god-daughter of Mary Arden) married Richard Watts, a Shropshire man and an Oxford scholar, who matriculated on 7 April 1609 from Jesus College,[6] took orders, became assistant to Alexander Aspinall in Stratford School in 1614, and Vicar of Harbury in March 1623. Mary Quyny married him at Harbury on 29 April 1623.[7] They had sons, William and Charles, who benefited by their

[1] French, *Shakespeareana Genealogica*, p. 566.
[2] Register MS.
[3] *Register*, p. 26.
[4] *Burial Register*, p. 118.
[5] *Records*, Wellstood, pp. 95, 99, 104, 110.
[6] *Register of the University*, ii. 2. 304.
[7] Harbury Register.

Uncle Richard's will, August 1655.[1] John Quyny (John Shakespeare's godson) died at Stratford in August 1603.[2] George Quyny, the youngest of the family, went to Oxford. He matriculated from Balliol on 5 May 1620[3] and was admitted to his B.A. on 11 May following.[4] As already stated, he became usher at the Stratford School and curate at the parish church. He was curate when the chancel was restored in 1622 and the Shakespeare monument erected.[5] Doctor John Hall attended him in 1623 for a 'grievous cough' which proved consumptive. '*Multa frustra tentata*,' he records in his 'Observations,' '*placide cum Domino dormit. Fuit boni indolis et linguarum expertus et pro juveni omnifariam doctus.*'[6] He was buried on Sunday the 11th April 1624.[7]

Last, Thomas Quyny, Bailiff Richard's second son, baptized 26 February 1589, became a vintner, leased a house near the top of the High Street, on the west side, a few doors from Wood Street, in 1611, and wooed Shakespeare's younger

[1] French, p. 566. [2] Buried 15 August (*Register*, p. 68).

[3] *Register of the University*, ii. 2. 382. [4] *Ib.* ii. 3. 384.

[5] Chamberlains' Accompt, 10 Jan. 1623 (items for painting, glazing, and masonry).

[6] 'Many remedies were tried in vain; peacefully he slept with the Lord. He was of a good wit' (had good gifts) 'and was both grounded in the tongues and for a young man in many ways learned.' Wheler gives the Latin in his interleaved copy of the 'Observations', p. 54. [7] *Register*, p. 105.

daughter, Judith, at New Place, who was four years his senior. They were to be married, apparently, in January 1616—before the 28th, when the prohibited season began. In view of the wedding, Shakespeare drew up a will in that month settling £150 on his daughter, and another £150 on his daughter and her future husband, provided he assured his wife and prospective children of lands to the value of £100. The wedding, however, and the sealing of the will, were postponed, probably because Thomas Quyny failed to fulfil his part of the contract. Then, on 10 February, the wedding took place,[1] Richard Watts probably officiating, contrary to regulations.[2] It was Lent and a licence was necessary. The young people (no longer young, aged twenty-seven and thirty-one, and well aware of what they were about) had neglected to obtain a licence, and were cited to the Episcopal Court of Worcester to answer for their offence. Twice they were summoned, and failing to appear they were fined and excommunicated, on or about 12 March.[2] Shakespeare, whatever his views of the match (and it is doubtful if he thought well of it), could hardly have approved of this behaviour; and on 25 March, Quyny still a

[1] *Register*, p. 27.

[2] Visitation Book, Consistory Court, Worcester. The entry is reproduced by J. W. Gray (*Shakespeare's Marriage*, p. 67).

delinquent in the matter of the £100, he revised his will, with the object of ensuring Judith an immediate income at his death and future prospects without admitting her husband to more than a conditional benefit. Thomas Quyny is not mentioned in the new draft, and the only hint that Judith has a husband is a slip of the pen similar to the *January* of the superscription. It occurs in the opening item: 'I 'give and bequeath unto my son-in-L——', which the lawyer Collins apparently repeats from the old draft, but immediately corrects, scoring through 'son-in-L——' and substituting 'daughter Judith'.[1]

Thomas Quyny, as Shakespeare probably foresaw, did not prove a satisfactory husband. After

[1] The will, the different stages of which can only be understood when it is read in the original or a photographic reproduction, consists of three sheets. The second and third have been revised, the first entirely *rewritten*. That *January* in the first is a slip is obvious: January, 14 James is not January 1616 but January 1617, which is impossible. On the other hand, 25 March 14 James and 25 March 1616 are both the first day of 1616. The slip, however, betrays the month in which the earlier, unsealed draft was drawn up, as *son-in-L*—— discloses the wording of the first item in that draft. Prof. Joseph Quincy Adams (in his interesting and suggestive *Life of William Shakespeare*, 1923, p. 464) interprets the bequest erased at the head of the second sheet as Judith's dowry. I understand it, rather, as a bequest to the grand-daughter, Elizabeth Hall (now eight years old), to whom was to go the poet's plate save the 'broad silver and gilt bowl' reserved for Judith. I do not

his marriage and his father-in-law's death, he changed houses with his brother-in-law, William Chandler, removing his tavern to the upper half of the *Cage*, at the corner of High Street and Bridge Street, in September 1616.[1] His first child, Shakespeare Quyny (whose name linked the two families), baptized 23 November 1616,[2] died the following May.[3] Two other children, both boys, Richard and Thomas, were born respectively in February 1618 and January 1620.[4] Like her mother (Anne Hathaway), Judith Quyny had only three children. Thomas Quyny served as a Chamberlain from 1621 to 1623, and presented his Accompt as acting Chamberlain on 9 January 1624. The document exists, in his own handwriting, with flourishing signatures added and a French motto :

Bien heureux est celui qui pour devenir sage
Qui pour le mal d'autrui fait son apprentissage.[5]

The original, in the medieval romance of *Saint Galais*,[6] runs :

Heureux celui qui pour devenir sage,
Du mal d'autrui fait son apprentissage—

think that Shakespeare ever intended to leave his plate to the younger branch of the family. Why, in that case, the special bequest of the bowl to Judith in the original draft ?

[1] Leases Cal., p. 126.
[2] *Register*, p. 91.
[3] *Register*, p. 92 (8 May).
[4] *Register*, pp. 93, 97.
[5] Chamberlains' Accounts, 1622–47, vol. ii, fol. 5.
[6] *Catalogue of the Birthplace*, p. 115.

'Happy is he who to become wise, serves his 'apprenticeship from other men's troubles.'

Quyny's variant, if intentional, is ungrammatical and without sense.[1]

In 1633 the lease of the *Cage* was taken over by Doctor John Hall and his son-in-law, Thomas Nash, and Richard Watts (now Vicar of Harbury), in trust for Judith Quyny and her two sons.[2] The vintner was probably the victim of his business. Early in 1639 he lost his sons (Shakespeare's grandsons) within a month of each other, Richard aged twenty-one and Thomas aged nineteen.[3] In November 1652 the lease of the *Cage* was assigned to his able brother, Richard.[4] He was living in 1655, when this brother bequeathed to him an allowance of £12 a year and £5 for his burial.[5] When and where his burial took place, we are not informed. Judith Shakespeare died at Stratford in February 1662, a few days after her seventy-seventh birthday—threescore years and five after the death of her twin brother, Hamlet.[6]

[1] The quotation hardly justifies Halliwell-Phillipps's deduction that he was 'an accomplished French scholar' (*Outlines*, i. 256 f., ii. 427).

[2] Leases Cal., p. 126.

[3] *Register*, pp. 133, 134 (28 January and 26 February).

[4] Cal., p. 126 (lease of 1685).

[5] *Outlines*, ii. 306 f.

[6] P. 108.

There remain Richard Quyny's sisters, Elizabeth and Anne. The former married David Jones (producer of the Whitsun Pastime),[1] and died rather more than a year and a half afterwards, being buried with her child on 25 January 1579.[2] Anne married Richard Baylis, the son of a fuller, on 18 September 1586,[3] who died the following June.[4] For her second husband she took William Wheat of Coventry,[5] son and heir to Henry Wheat of Walsall. They had a son William, born in 1594, who matriculated at Oxford 16 June 1610 as *generosi filius*, aged fifteen, from St. John's College.[6] He entered the Middle Temple in 1620, where doubtless he had a friend in Master Thomas Greene (who was then a bencher), and, in his turn, welcomed Master Greene's son (no doubt a godson of Shakespeare), young William Greene, admitted in his fourteenth year on 8 August 1621. Later William Wheat resided as an esquire at Glympton in Oxfordshire.[7]

[1] P. 35.

[2] *Register*, p. 28.

[3] *Register*, p. 13.

[4] *Register*, p. 40 (24 June).

[5] She removed to Coventry about the time of the baptism of her niece, Anne Quyny, to whom Anne Hathaway probably stood godmother. See p. 54.

[6] *Register of the University*, ii. 2. 315.

[7] *Warw. Antiq. Mag.*, p. 118; *Visitation of Warwickshire*, 1619; *Alumni Oxonienses*, iv, p. 1608.

The large number of young men who went to Oxford from the Quyny–Sturley–Woodward connexion alone is sufficient evidence of culture in the Shakespeare neighbourhood. To those who have been mentioned must be added Daniel Baker's son, Daniel (Richard Quyny's great nephew), who matriculated from Magdalen Hall on 9 March 1604, aged 16. He was admitted to his B.A. 25 January 1609, and went, probably as a schoolmaster, to Banbury. Here he obtained a most interesting certificate of good behaviour as a supplicant for his M.A. on 18 February 1612, signed by a group of eminent Puritan divines, John Dodd, Robert Cleaver, Robert Harris, William Whateley, Henry Scudder, and Thomas Liddiott.[1]

One more, and perhaps nearer to Shakespeare, was young Peter Rogers, grandson of Henry Rogers of Sherborne, late Town Clerk of Stratford and, as we have concluded, the Poet's old instructor in Country-town Law. Henry Rogers was buried at Sherborne on Sunday, 12 June 1597. He left a widow and six sons and daughters, of whom Timothy and Susanna may have been godchildren of Master Timothy Lucy (younger brother of Sir Thomas) and his wife, Mistress

[1] *Register of the University*, ii. 1. 34, 38; 2. 269; 3. 283.

Susanna Fanshaw (niece of Master Henry Fanshaw of the Exchequer [1]). His elder son, Henry, married Anne, daughter of Richard Ward of Pillarton, co. Warwick. This Henry Rogers, the Second, died in November 1620, leaving two sons, Henry and Peter, aged eighteen and fifteen years.[2] Henry, succeeding his father at Sherborne, married in 1621 Constance Hale (daughter of the overseer of his father's will,[3] Richard Hale of Charlecote, gentleman?), and had a family of young children,[4] while his brother, Peter, was a student at Oxford and Gray's Inn. Peter, to whom his father bequeathed £160, matriculated from Oriel College 20 March 1624, six weeks after the burial at Stratford of Alexander Aspinall [5] (probably his old schoolmaster), and took his B.A. from Hart Hall, 26 January 1627.[6] He was admitted to Gray's Inn 21 May 1628.[7]

ARMS ON THE COVER

Borne by Richard Quyny the Third, son of the subject of this book, and brother-in-law of Judith Quyny née Shakespeare, in the year 1633. He died in 1656 (see p. 202). His son, William, resided in Shottery, and died in 1720.

[1] p. 176. [2] *Visitation of Warwickshire*, 1619.
[3] P.C.C. 41 Dale. [4] See Sherborne Register of Baptisms.
[5] *Register*, p. 105. [6] *Alumni Oxonienses*.
[7] Register of Admissions.

INDEX

All's Well That Ends Well, 196 f.
Anderson, Sir Edmund, Lord Justice of Common Pleas, 169f.
Anglo-Catholicism, Shakespeare's early sympathies with, 75–8.
Apologia, Shakespeare's (Sonnet cxxi), 72, 74
Arden, Edward, 46 (note)
Armada, The, 47, 49–51
Aspinall, Alexander, Schoolmaster, 33 (and note), 61–4, 98, 120, 133 f., 135, 167, 202, 210
Attorney's clerk, Shakespeare an, 41–5, 52 f.
Atwood, Thomas, *alias* Taylor, 14 f., 114
Aubrey, John, 53, 74, 198
Avisa, Willobie His, 91 f.

Babington, Gervase, Bishop of Worcester, 181 f.
Badger, George, 103, 107, 113–16, 121, 122, 152, 153, 162, 166, 172
Baker, Daniel, 90, 107, 130, 135, 140, 147, 148, 152, 157, 162, 167, 169, 171, 172 (note), 175, 176, 182, 209
Baker, Daniel, son of the last, 209
Bankcroft, the, 170 f.
Barber, Thomas, 23, 28 f., 85, 86, 89, 94, 109, 117 f., 142, 154, 161, 167, 177
Bardell (Bardolf), George, 29, 32 f., 40, 57, 81 f.
Bardell, Joyce (Isa), wife of the last, 29, 148
Barnhurst (Bannister), Nicholas, 23, 28 f., 35, 47, 57 f., 80 f., 85 f., 107, 163 f., 186
Bath 49, 65, 66, 73
Baynton, Charles, son of Laurence, 17, 33, 40, 57
Baynton, Cicely (Palmer), widow of William Baynton, marries Richard Collins, 172 f.
Baynton, Elizabeth, widow of Laurence, marries Adrian Quyny, 16 f. (note)
Baynton, Elizabeth, daughter of Laurence, marries Nicholas Barnhurst, 17, 28
Baynton, Joyce, daughter of Laurence, marries George Bardell, 17, 29
Baynton, Laurence, 16, 17 (and note)
Baynton, William, son of Laurence, 17, 50, 51 (note), 81, 172
Biddle, Simon, 170, 172 (and note), 177, 188
Bretchgirdle, John, Vicar, 18, 126
Briscow 154
Brotherhood, Religious, in Stratford, 58
Brownsword, John, Schoolmaster, 26
Bullen, Mr. A. H., the late, 63 (note)
Burghley, Lord, 68, 87, 174, 178
Burgoyne, Robert, 122
Butcher, William, Vicar, 20
Byfield, Richard, Vicar, 41, 110
Byfield, Nicholas, 41

Caesar, Doctor Julius, 149
Carew, Sir George, 149
Cartwright, Thomas, 79 f.
Century of Sonnets, A, Shakespeare's, 69–75, 76 (note), 78 (and note)
Chancel, the, 87, 89, 147
Chettle, Henry, 73 f., 125 (note)
Clopton, William, 81, 127 f.
Coke, Sir Edward, Attorney-General, 173–5, 183
Combe, John ('Sir Combe'), 122 f.
Combe, William, 118, 193, 196
Conway, Sir John, 126
Court, William, 44, 105
Cowper, Richard, 51

Drama, Change in, 48
Drama, Patronage of, by Stratford Corporation, 35 f., 48 f., 116
Dyos, Roger, Vicar, 17

Edgeworth, Roger, Steward, 17
Egerton, Thomas, Sir, Lord Keeper, 165 f.
Essex, Earl of, 126, 173–6

Falstaff, 124, 149 f.
Field, Henry, 30, 82
Field, Margery (wife of Robert Young), 92–5
Field, Richard, 30 (and note), 82, 92
Fires in Stratford 33 f., 89 f., 101 f., 105, 161–3
Fisher, John, of Warwick, 22–5
Fortescue, Sir John, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 132, 139, 149
Foxe, John, 48
Foxe, William, 38
Freake, Edmund, Bishop of Worcester, 80

Gibbs, John, 47, 113, 116, 126, 195 f.
Gilbert, William, *alias* Higgës, 60 f., 64
Globe, the, Theatre, 158
Greene, Robert, 70 (and note)
Greene, Thomas, 128, 129, 153, 154–6, 173–6, 179 f., 183, 185, 186, 196, 208
Greene, William, son of Thomas (godson of Shakespeare), 208
Greville, Edward, Sir, of Milcote, 83 f., 109 f., 117–21, 126 f., 143, 147, 149 f., 164, 167–9, 170 f., 173, 175, 177, 182 f., 184–7, 190 f., 192, 201
Greville, Edward, Lady, 129, 145
Greville, Fulke, Sir, of Beauchamp's Court, 31, 51, 81, 83 f., 126, 130, 189 f.

Hall, Elizabeth, 205 (note)
Hall, John, Doctor, 203, 207
Hall, Master W., 65 (and note), 70 (note)
Halliwell-Phillipps, the late Mr., 7–9, 207 (note)
Hamlet 196–8
Hamlet, Katharine, 44 f.
Harvard (Harwood), 105, 106 (and note)
Hathaway, Anne, 34 (and note), 36 (note), 41, 68, 76, 108, 156, 202, 206, 208 (note)
Haycroft, Henry, Vicar, 20 (note), 35
Henry the Fourth, King, Parts I and II, 124, 149
Henry the Fifth, King, 131, 158
Higford, Henry, Steward of Stratford, 80, 109 (note)
Higgës, William (see Gilbert)
Hill, Richard, 23, 25–7, 37, 38 f., 41, 51, 55 f., 85, 86, 87 f.
Hilman, James, Curate, 20
Holofernes 61–4
Hooker, Richard, 75 (and note)
Horatio, 196–8
Hunt, Simon, Schoolmaster, 76

Jeffreys, John, Steward of Stratford, 109, 182, 184, 186 f.
John, King, 100, 108 f.
Jones, David, 35, 51, 208

Lee, Sir Sidney, 48 (note), 59 (note), 72 (note), 108 (note)
Leicester, Earl of, 78: his Players, 48 f.
London, Visits to, by Stratford men and women, 20 f., 57, 104, 117, 121–5, 128, 132, 134 f., 137 f., 143, 147, 152, 153, 156, 159, 168, 169 f., 173–6, 179, 185 f.
Love's Labour's Lost, 52, 59–62, 64
Lucius in *Titus Andronicus*, 99 f.
Lucy, Sir Thomas, 38 f., 50, 81, 109, 126, 127, 129, 145, 170, 178
Lucy, Sir Thomas the Second, 178 (and note)

Malvolio, 63
Marlowe, Christopher, 70 f.
'Marriage Sonnet,' Shakespeare's (cxvi), 74
'Martin Marprelate,' 79 f.
Mary, Queen of Scots, 19 f.
Metamorphoses, Ovid's, 95, 99
Midsummer Night's Dream, 43 (and note), 89
Miscellany of Sonnets, A, Shakespeare's, 66–8

Nathaniel, Sir, 60 f., 64
Newcombe, Edward, bellfounder of Leicester, 58
New Place, 110, 111 f.

O'er-Greene (Shakespeare's rejoinder to *Shakescene*) 70 (note)
Oken, Thomas, 22–5
Oxford Colleges, Richard Quyny's collection at, 90 f.
Oxford University, Stratford youths at, 41 (John Parsons, Richard Sturley, Nicholas Byfield), 55 (Ezechias Woodward), 92, 121 (Henry Sturley), 166 (George Quyny), 194 (Ezechias Woodward and Ezechias Woodward, junior), 195 (Richard Woodward), 199 (William Chandler), 203 (George Quyny), 209 (Daniel Baker), 210 (Peter Rogers)

Parsons, William, 37, 39–41, 52, 59, 73, 85, 86, 87, 88, 102, 103, 120, 129, 132, 135 f., 140, 151, 154, 163, 164, 185
Parsons, Margaret (*née* Sadler), wife of above, 37
Parsons, John, William, Anne, Mary, children of the above, godchildren of the Shakespeares, 40 f.
'Peace Sonnet,' Shakespeare's (cvii), 74 f.
Perrott, Robert, 38 (and note), 54–6, 93, 164, 193 f.
Perrott, William, widow of, 93 f.
Presbyterianism, 48, 78–80, 101 f.
Prince Edward and Prince Richard in *King Richard the Third* 99 f.
Pye, Master, preacher, 50 f.

Quyny, Adrian, the Elder, 13 f.
Quyny, Adrian, father of Richard, 13, 14, 15–22, 22–5, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32–7, 45 f., 58, 86, 102, 107, 124 f., 128, 130, 135–7, 148, 151, 152, 161, 162, 164 f., 177, 179 (note), 185, 195, 198, 199
Quyny, Adrian I, son of Richard, 46
Quyny, Adrian II, son of Richard, 47, 200 f.
Quyny, Anne, sister of Richard, 17, 134, 208 (and note)

Quyny, Anne, daughter of Richard, 54, 202, 208 (note)
Quyny, Elizabeth, sister of Richard, 17, 35, 208
Quyny, Elizabeth (Phillips), wife of Richard, 31 f., 45, 58, 90, 120, 123, 127, 128, 135, 135, 140, 144, 145, 152, 157, 159 f., 173, 179, 199, 200, 201
Quyny, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard, 34, 199
Quyny, George, son of Richard, 166 f., 203
Quyny, John, son of Richard, 54, 203
Quyny, Judith (Shakespeare), wife of Thomas, 13, 53, 96, 97, 106, 133, 204–7
Quyny, Mary, daughter of Richard, 54, 202
Quyny, Richard the Elder, 13, 14, 19
Quyny, Richard, 13, 17, 19, 29 f., 30–2, 32, 35, 40, 45–7, 50, 53 f., 57 (note), 58 f., 73, 83–5, 85–7, 89–91, 103–7, 110, 113, 116, 116–21, 121–5, 125–9, 130, 132, 133–7, 137–46, 146–54, 157, 158–60, 161, 162 f., 163–7, 167–70, 171–3, 173–6, 176–80, 181 f., 183 f., 184–92, 192 f., 195 f, 196–9, 199, 201, 208
Quyny, Richard, son of Richard, 47, 133 f., 201 f.
Quyny, Shakespeare, son of Thomas, 13, 206
Quyny, Thomas, son of Richard, 13, 53, 133, 203–7
Quyny, William, son of Richard, 53 f., 84 f.
Quyny, William II, son of Richard, 53 f., 144, 202

Recusants in Stratford, 80–2
Richard the Second, King, 173 f.
Robertson, Mr. J. M., 42 (note)
Robins, John, 51 f.
Roche, Walter, 30 (and note), 40, 44
Rogers, Henry, Town Clerk of Stratford, 8, 22 f., 30, 39, 44 f., 46 (note), 50, 209
Rogers, Susanna, 209
Rogers, Thomas, 85, 86, 102, 103–6, 130, 134, 181, 182
Romeo and Juliet, 42 f., 56, 96
Rutland in *King Henry the Sixth, Part III*, 99

Sabbatarianism in Stratford 101 f.
Sadler, Hamlet, 30, 37, 40, 53, 115, 128, 159, 161
Sadler, John, 28, 32 f., 34 f.
Sadler, John, son of the last, 85, 90, 113, 130, 141, 164, 167, 170, 171, 175, 184, 201
Sadler, Judith (Staunton), wife of Hamlet, 53, 152, 159
Sadler, Margaret (see Parsons)
Sadler, Roger, 30
Savage, Mr. Richard, 10, 38 (note), 50 (note)
Shakespeare, Anne, wife of William (see Hathaway)
Shakespeare, Gilbert, son of John, 28 (note), 31
Shakespeare, Hamnet (Hamlet), son of William, 96 f., 99 f., 108 f., 207
Shakespeare, John, 13, 15–21, 26–9, 37, 41, 47, 48, 58, 80–2, 95, 100, 102 (and note), 107, 114 f., 123, 151, 153, 173, 177 f., 182, 197 f., 203
Shakespeare, Judith, daughter of William, 205 (see Quyny).
Shakespeare, Mary (Arden), wife of John, 16, 41, 54, 76
Shakespeare, Richard, of Snitterfield, father of John, 13, 15, 114, 155

Shakespeare, Richard, son of John, 27, 41
Shakespeare, Susanna, daughter of William, 36 f., 106
Shakespeare, William, son of John, 13, 19, 27, 34, 36, 39, 41–5, 47–9, 50, 53 f., 59, 59–63, 64–75, 75–8, 82, 84 f., 90 f., 95, 95–100, 106, 108 f., 111 f., 123–5, 128 f., 130, 131 f., 137–9, 144, 145 f., 146, 154 f., 156 f., 157–9, 164, 165, 169, 171, 173–5, 175 (note), 196–8, 200, 202, 203 f., 205, 208, 209
Skinner, John, of Rowington, Exchequer Commissioner, 143 (note), 166
Smith, John, vintner, 132, 134, 141, 167, 176, 180 f., 186
Smith, William, haberdasher (godfather of William Shakespeare), 30, 90, 129 f., 134, 164
Somerville, John, 45 f. (note)
Southampton, Earl of (Henry Wriothesley), 68–75
Specialty, 52, 53 (note)
Spicer, Thomas, curate, 19 (note)
Sturley, Abraham, 27, 37–9, 51 f., 55, 57 f., 85 f., 87 f., 90, 92, 102, 103, 105, 107, 109–11, 113, 116, 117–21, 121–5, 125–9, 130, 132 f., 134, 135, 137, 140–4, 146–8, 148–51, 152–4, 159 f., 161, 163, 169, 176, 182, 188, 195
Sturley, Anne (Hill), 27, 37 f.
Sturley, Elizabeth, mother of Abraham Sturley, wife of Robert Perrott, 38, 54 f.
Sturley, Elizabeth, daughter of Abraham, 39
Sturley, Henry, son of Abraham, 39, 51, 92, 120 f., 168 f.
Sturley, Richard, son of Abraham, 39, 41
Sturley, William, son of Abraham, 37, 39

Taming of the Shrew, The, 52, 93
Tobacco 136 f. (and note), 147, 152
Tovey, John, Schoolmaster at Coventry, 103, 130
Tully's Epistles, 31, 160
Twenty-five Sonnets and an Envoy, Shakespeare's, 68 f.
Two Gentlemen of Verona, The, 76 f.
Tyler, William, 23, 27, 54, 79
Tyler, Richard, son of William, 27 f. (note), 31, 50, 54–6, 111

Underhill, William, 110, 111, 165 (and note)
Underhill, Fulke, 165 (and note)

Walford, William, 134 f.
Walker, Henry, 106, 130, 133, 171, 175, 181, 200
Warwick, Ambrose, Earl of, 21, 34, 78, 80 (and note)
Watts, Richard, 202, 204, 207
Wheat, William, 134, 146, 151, 208
Wheat, William, son of William, 208
Wheeler, John, 29, 47, 58, 81
Whitgift, Archbishop, 80–2, 139
Whitney, Robin, 190–2
Whitsun Pastime, 35 f.
Willis, Robert, 48
Wilson, Henry, 178 f., 185–7
Woodward, Richard, of Shottery, 38 (and note), 52, 55, 77, 128, 140, 193–5
Woodward, Ezechias, son of Richard, 38, 55, 194
Woodward, Susanna, Judith, Esther, and other daughters of Richard, 38, 55, 193 f.
Wyatt, William, 141 f., 190 (and note)

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